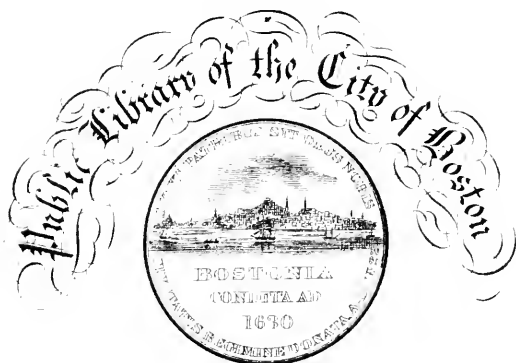


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Added - Oct. 22 1867 - 10.32/26

*Editorial
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THE
STRUGGLE OF THE HOUR:

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT THE
PAINE CELEBRATION IN CINCINNATI.

January 29, 1861.

BY ORSON S. MURRAY.

"My ear is pain'd,
My soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which earth is fill'd
There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart ;
It does not feel for man. The nat'ral bond
Of brotherhood is sever'd."—COWPER.

FOSTER'S CROSSINGS,
WARREN COUNTY, OHIO.
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DISCOURSE.

To some, it may appear paradoxical, that a party, discarding compromises, should expect to be heard in an assembly, composed of opinions so various, that somewhat of compromising is necessary to getting along. Well, if compromising may mean *so much*, as hearing and being heard, I am prepared for it. Whenever the South are prepared for freedom of speech, all will be right. Whenever they will enter into bonds, giving satisfactory security, to abide by the Constitution, in its provisions that there shall be "no law abridging the freedom of speech;" that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States;" that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law;" "nor cruel and unjust punishments inflicted;" all will be right. But a compromise, involving abnegation of all these vital elements, makes the Constitution a mockery—"collapses it into a dead letter." Such a Constitution is a sun more than half eclipsed, and thus made impotent, as to vitalizing energies for the wants of existing orders of intelligences. But more of this by and by, when we come to the argument.

There is agitation for the sake of agitation. That is children's play—young and old.

There is agitation for gain. That is the part of pickpockets—low and high.

There is agitation for self-foisting into favor, place and power. That is a work for demagogues and despots—in state and in church.

There is agitation for purification and preservation of the human mass. That is a work for philanthropists and benefactors.

Undoubtedly there is much of patriotism among those who are denouncing philanthropists. The latter can certainly afford to be charitable to the former. Time will have to determine,

if it can, whether the doings of these or of those have been more beneficent. Put it on record.

They who magnify inspiration, making the inspirer to be greater than the inspired, after they have shouted aloud, great was Washington, are bound to shout louder, greater was Paine. So of those who exalt emancipators of thought, as compared with emancipators of hands and feet.

The work of Paine and the work of Washington were in the relation of cause and effect—of mover and moved—of instigator and executor. Paine was the man to point out what was to be done; Washington was the man to do it.

The comparison is not to be taken as invidious, or inimical. It is not to lower the one, but to elevate the other. Washington did nothing but what became popular; hence his exemption from criticism, and the concealment of his imperfections. Paine, besides projecting the popular work for Washington, projected another and greater work that has never yet become popular—the length of time for the accomplishment being necessarily somewhat in proportion to the greatness of the work. In his unpopularity he has not escaped criticism; and the criticism has protracted the unpopularity. All this has been of necessity. Time will take proper care of it all.

We have no business with the imperfections of the dead, or of the living, but to prevent the imperfections doing harm. The greater the amount and proportion of goodness in any revered character, living or dead, the more necessary the ungrateful task of pointing out the imperfections, at times and in places when and where they have harmful power. The exceptions have to be heeded as well as the rules.

In our ignorance, we are liable to worship unworthily. The liability is, that the worshiper will get contracted, and the worshiped expanded, out of proper proportions. The worshiper is injured in loss of self-respect and usefulness, by being unduly debased; while the worshiped is not benefited nor made more useful, by being unduly exalted.

Benjamin Franklin was a great benefactor; but thousands of his worshipers have been injured by robbing themselves of needed sleep, following his precepts and examples in that particular. The Bible character under the name of Solomon, has

been worshiped as the wisest of men,—as having been under the immediate inspiration of an all-wise god. Many of the sayings attributed to this character have been vastly useful; but who can doubt that the impurity, the libertinism, the lasciviousness, of that divinely-inspired character, are doing their work of destruction to-day, in Utah and all Bibledom? Henry Ward Beecher says that “all there is of God to him is bound up in the name Christ Jesus.” The sayings attributed to this character, too, contain much of the best wisdom embraced in the sayings of his predecessors. But his teaching the existence of a devil, a punishing, revengeful god; and his damning for disbelief in his own infallibleness—to say nothing about numberless other errors he inculcated—has, to the present time, kept up sectarian strife, uncharitableness, detraction, malignity and manslaughter, throughout all Christendom.

In proportion as the sayings and doings of these and other characters are taken as under inspiration from infallible sources, their errors have power to hurt. It can never be known how much our preachers of liberty have been made and kept practical enslavers, inspired by the pernicious examples of worshiped men, the creatures of bad circumstances, and of worshiped gods, the creatures of worse circumstances. That he who has been worshiped as the “Father of his Country” was a slaveholder, and that he who has been worshiped as the “God of our fathers” was the author of slavery and patron of enslavers, is a most deplorable misfortune that has had the effect greatly to demoralize and delay the operations of our experimenting for freedom. I say our *experimenting*; for this is the most that can be said of it. Three-quarters of a century we have been experimenting without success. It is for the future to reveal whether it comes out success or failure. Hitherto, it has been only a preaching up and a practicing down. It has been good in the pretension, but evil in the performance.

The time has been, when no better way was known to govern men than to keep them in superstitious fear of mysteries, wrapped up in Bibles and Constitutions—both and all the conjured instrumentalities of priests and politicians. The time has come, when we have been hearing much said about self-government. As yet, however, this is only talked of. Whether or not it is to be reduced to practice, is a question to be settled.

During my attendance of these anniversaries, on former occasions, attention has been given to the Old and New Testaments. On the present occasion, it seems proper to give some attention to the Constitution and the Union.

When I'm through, say which you please—whether the Bible and the Constitution are the inspirers of the people, and responsible for their conduct; or the people responsible for the Bible and the Constitution.

The Bible begins by prohibiting knowledge, and ends by forbidding improvement—detering from growing wiser and better. Because it does this, and because it teaches so much that is immoral and inhuman, hindering development for intelligence and virtue, by its divine authority, I lay it down, place my heel on it, and then put my toe against it. [While it is down, if we could tread out the divine from that composition, leaving it human; and then tread out the inhuman, leaving it humane, it might be fit to be picked up and put on a shelf, by the side of Homer, Herodotus, and Shakspeare—I will not say Milton; that would be descending to the divine again,—that belongs on a lower shelf] For all other productions, divine or human, coming with like assumptions and like tendencies in the regards mentioned, I have like treatment—to be called indignities, if you please so to call it. If the Constitution is the same enemy to human freedom, and to improvement in knowledge and goodness, that the Bible is, it is time to throw it down, trample on it, spit on it, and kick it out of the way.

Is the Constitution such a thing? Does it come to us dictated as a finality? Does it deprive multiplying millions of knowledge and freedom. And, as such a thing, are we bound to preserve and perpetuate it? There cannot be too much reverence for what is promotive of intelligence and liberty. There cannot be too much irreverence for what is promotive of ignorance and slavery. Which way are we drifting?

The idea, heretofore so universally cherished, that it is sacrilege to touch the Constitution for the purpose of changing it, may be taken for granted to have been done away with, after all that has recently transpired at Washington. The convulsion is past. The agony is over. The President has spoken out, proposing alterations. Senators and Representatives have

followed in quick succession with their proposals. Why have we had nothing of the kind before? Senator Seward, our sage statesman, who is listened to as no other American senator or statesman of the present time is listened to, says all our State constitutions have to be repaired and remodeled, as often as once in twenty-five years. Says, too, that "every State of this Union is just like the Federal government." By this the connection makes him to mean that the Federal government needs repairing and remodeling as often and as much as the State governments. Whether he meant to be understood as confessing thus much or not, he knows it to be the truth. In fact, he makes himself wordy to show that it is no occasion for surprise to find the Federal machinery sadly out of repair, after having been neglected three times as long as the machinery of the States will bear neglect. In truth, he knows that the operations of the Federal government have been getting worse from the beginning, under the corrupting constitutional compromise. To the contrary of his statement, that the Federal and State governments are alike, he knows that no State government of the thirty-three has in itself any such antagonisms and warring elements as the Federal government, to weaken and impair, early and perpetually. Why then has it been put off so long? What else is so plain in the protracted neglect, as the corrupting tendencies of party politics? One party wouldn't touch it, lest the other party should get advantage. They have been watching each other with a "godly jealousy," as I heard a Methodist preacher, in my boyhood, saying of the sectarianism of Christianity. It was a good thing they were divided into sects. It kept them watching over each other with a "godly jealousy." As if a jealousy that creates animosity, destroys good neighborhood and sheds blood, is a good thing because it is godly. As if such "godliness is gain." As if a jealous god had not done some of the worst of all work for mankind. If there be anything worse it is party politics.

I asked, which way are we drifting? What are the indications? The President proposes alterations. His proposals make it plain that in his view, under our Constitution, we have been prepared for doing worse than they were prepared for doing when it was made. His *amendments* are to go in the direction of augmenting and perpetuating the ignorance and the

inhumanity. He would have the Constitution made more explicit and more executive for ruling out reason and ruling in force; for making capital to own labor; coining the coming human millions into currency, to be handled and used for the benefit of the brokers.

What is remarkable—challenging attention—standing out to be studied in these eventful times—these transition times—these enigmatical times—is the fact, that these proposals are a part of the President's last message, at the winding up of his career, after the election of his successor, which has been proclaimed by friends and foes as being an effort to stay the decline; to stop the spread of the disease; to prevent the progress to destruction. Under other circumstances it would have been less surprising. Nothing better was to be expected of *his* party than that *they* should be ready for such a measure, with the power in their own hands. That Douglas, Crittenden, and Pugh are ready to make the most and the worst of it, is not an affair now worth stopping to criticise. The wonder was—[*was*—I don't say now *is*, after all that has since been shown on the part of the other party]—that Buchanan should have risked his reputation in history with such an implication as to the corruptness of the other party, as well as his own. But it is turning out that he is a discernor of the times.

Plainly, the President has no faith in the professions of the opposing party. He looks for no practice to correspond with their preaching. He understands religion and politics to mean money, and not humanity. Prayers and stump speeches, protracted meetings and political caucuses, ecclesiastical convocations and presidential campaigns, he understands to be nothing more nor less than measures for effecting a change of hands at the pockets of the people. He believes that his opponents have been talking for place—not for improvement. He knows that religion is religion, and that politics is politics, under whatever garb or name, whatever show or pretext. He looks for the Bible and the Constitution to continue to be used for keeping down thought and reason, and keeping up fraud and force. He expects his successors to be and to do like their predecessors, in placing one hand on the Bible, the other on the Constitution, rolling their eyes heavenward, and in this attitude, with these witnesses and sanctions, swearing by slavery,

under the god of their slavery, who is the god of their Bibles, their battles, their Constitution and their Union.

Say not that he is only judging the other party by his own. There is too much of the case, making it look like that, to opponents, who cannot see themselves as others see them. But there is too much more of it besides, making it look otherwise. There is too much in the history of the case, and in the present movements and manifestations, justifying the President in his presumptions and assumptions. It is yet to be seen whether or not, after the call has been made to have the Constitution taken in hand and changed for the worse, there will be courage and virtue equal to meeting the challenge and making an attempt to change it for the better. No one pretends to think the President has proposed a sacrilegious act, in moving to make the thing more exceptionable and objectionable than it is—to make it positively fit to be torn in pieces and trampled out of sight—to make a record to be blotted out and washed away with tears and blood. Nobody has expressed surprise at the proposition. Every body was prepared to expect it all and more.

Now, suppose this measure for strengthening slavery had not been proposed by the subsiding President. And suppose our President elect to propose, in his inaugural speech or his first message, measures just as far the other way—as great a change of Constitution in favor of freedom, as has been proposed in favor of slavery. Would there be no surprise expressed? There is not a besotted, demented secessionist of the South, who knows the record of Abraham Lincoln, and of the party which has elected him, who looks for the least thing of the kind. Nor is the sturdiest statesman in the ranks of the Republican party, (so styling itself,) prepared to make such a move, or to accept it from his representative man. There is preparation all around to hear proposals of *amendment*—for slavery; but all would be surprised, and a majority would be alarmed and convulsed at proposals of amendment for liberty.

Such has been the tendency and effect of our boasted Constitution, that we have been living under for three-quarters of a century. This is the virtuous thing that is too clean to be touched for the purposes of liberty. It is dirty enough, though, to be dabbled with for the purposes of slavery. Cease, then, to stigmatize Buchanan as a coward—or confess that our Con-

stitution and our Union, our Bible and our religion, have corrupted, debased, brutalized the people of the nation. Buchanan has the heroism to propose changing the Constitution for the worse. Lincoln and his party have not the heroism to propose changing it for the better. Their conviction is that the people are so depraved, under the action of the Constitution and the Union, the Bible and its religion, that they would not sustain them in the improvement. After all that Seward has said and confessed, and with all that he knows more and has suppressed, as to the need of remodeling the machinery of the Federal Government, he lacks the virtue to meet Buchanan and demand as much for freedom as Buchanan demands for slavery. He has not the fidelity to equity, that Buchanan has to iniquity.

Wm. H. Seward and Thurlow Weed have much to say as to what the Republican party can "afford" to do, in the way of letting things take their course, now that they have got the Government into their own hands. In words they are magnanimous; in actions, they are pusillanimous. It is a clever way of excusing themselves and their party, for placating their Southern masters with promises not to disturb them in their possession of constitutional advantages which they took when, as Weed says, "slavery was the rule and freedom the exception." For he says this was the way the constitutional compromise started. He calls special attention to this fact, in justification of further compromise. As if beginning badly because you had not the power to do otherwise, is a justification for going on worse, when you boast of power to do better.

Weed anticipates objections. It is objected to further and still worse compromising, that it has been going on from bad to worse long enough,—that to the beginning, with all the advantage they took, slavery being the rule and freedom the exception, the Southern sovereigns have already too long gone on adding compromise to compromise—now dictating worse, and then displacing with worse still. To this, Weed replies, by handing the matter over to coming generations. Don't say he has any faith in his masters, that they will not sometime exact still more and worse. Only, it would "not be in our generation, or the next." Into this most revolting perfidy—this betrayal of trust for coming generations—he would bribe the Re-

publican party, with the prospect of their keeping themselves in place and power, by selling out in advance the rightful inheritance of freedom, in the shape of territory now to be ceded perpetually to slavery. Children are wont to look charitably on the deeds of parents, done in imperfection of development; but where is the excuse for this party, boasting of power to do its pleasure, and using that power thus perfidiously? While blessings are withheld from Benedict Arnolds, curses will recoil on the transmitters of such an inheritance.

After this sentence is on paper, the mail brings report of Seward worse and worse. He not only does not meet Buchanan and call for the contrary, but he vies with Buchanan in willingness to placate the implacable—in readiness to humble himself and beg for crumbs of favor—to sell his birthright, his manhood, and the rights of his fellow countrymen, for the privilege of being the tool of tyranny. He is reported as proposing :

“An amendment to the Constitution, providing it shall not hereafter be amended, so as to give any power to the Federal Government to interfere with slavery in the States, and this provision to be made perpetual.”

Thus he would make the hooks into links, and weld the ends of the chain together, and throw the chisel and hammer out of reach, binding the North to perpetual support of slavery in the States. This is the grossest insult yet to intelligent freemen—the basest of all treachery to the cause of human emancipation. Benedict Arnold's treachery was nothing to be mentioned or thought of in comparison with it. Verily, if the Constitution and the Union have prepared the people for such a proposition from such a source—have so debased the people in the eyes of Wm. H. Seward that he should dare thus to approach them—it is the most shocking indication of the perniciousness of the inspiration; the most overwhelming evidence of demoralization past renovation; the most alarming symptom of disease beyond the reach of available remedy. We have been taught to look upon Louis Napoleon as a perfidious wretch and monster; but the American people are worthy to be ruled over by a baser and more brutal than he, if they do not henceforth spurn with indignation from their councils all such men as Wm. H. Seward. What thinks he now, and what would he have to be thought, of the “irrepressible conflict?” Is it to establish the irrepres-

sibleness of slavery ; and then let freedom, as long as it can, make the best fight it can—all the while abandoned to final failure? And what his idea now of “higher law?” Is it that the might of the minority shall endlessly rule, enslave and degrade the majority?

The right to alter the Constitution at all is the right to alter it for freedom. He who would alter it for slavery is faithless to freedom. Such a man should never have the vote of a freeman.

By the way, here, isn't this matter of voting getting to be a great matter, truly? A drunken Irishman, who has been furnished naturalization papers and whisky, by some party-political-caucus arrangement, gets his patriotic feelings up at the polls ; and, knowing just enough to think that if voting once is good, voting twice is better, after voting at one ward, staggers to another and votes again. Why shouldn't he? He has been made to think, by the alarmists in the pulpit, on the stump and at the press, that the salvation of the *Union*—which means the same to him in politics that escape from purgatory means in religion—depends on electing his man. Two dollars being better than one in the hands of the priest, why not two votes better than one in the hands of the politician? What is there to teach him better? What has he seen to make him think a vote a more sacred thing than a dollar? Hasn't he been bantered for his vote, by an office-holder or an office-seeker, for a less consideration than a dollar?—the very officer perhaps who is to be employed to haul him up and make him pay penance. The votes in the legislative, judicial and executive proceedings for his government are matters mixed up with dollars and dimes ; and from year to year, and day to day, the dollars and dimes are gaining in preponderance. “Outside pressure,” “pecuniary pressure,” is the ruling power now becoming popular in our legislative halls and judicial and executive chambers. The interests that have the most money have the best chance. The votes that make our laws and that execute our laws are marketable commodities. Our legislators are employed more than otherwise now in selling the laborers into the hands of the capitalists.

The Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, in favor of compromise, says : [Washington, Jan. 7:]

"Thurlow Weed is in town. He is trying to adjust affairs. A great *pecuniary* pressure is to be brought to bear upon Senator Seward, and other leading Republicans, to induce them to adopt Mr. Crittenden's propositions. Gov. Kimball, Moses Grinnell, and Hamilton Fish, of New York, are here for that purpose." * * "Mr. Seward expressed his conviction to them that in thirty days things would be settled."

This correspondent of the *Commercial* is in the interests of the compromisers. It seems to be a fair deduction from what he says that the capitalists mentioned are understood to be in Washington with bribes for Senator Seward and other leading Republicans. Of course our senators and our capitalists are not to be held responsible for all that is written by the correspondents of the press. But the Senator who will vote away the millions of money and the millions of men of the North into the perpetual service of Southern slavery—to keep down its insurrections evermore, and give perpetuity to its property votes—how can he be above bribes? The right to change the Constitution for the perpetuity of slavery in the States, is the right to put the foreign slave-trade in with it. And let him, who will, undertake to define the difference in the moral turpitude of the two acts. For senators to sell out the interests of laborers to capitalists—sell out labor to capital—is only acting consistently with the polity of our government, the covenant of our Constitution, which allows money to vote to the displacing of "persons"—persons North as well as South. There is no equivalent North for those thirty Southern votes on the floor of Congress. The votes thus allowed are a balance of power to hold the laborers the property of capitalists—laborers North, as well as laborers South. Every Northern laborer is degraded and voted into perpetual service to Southern sovereignty, by the votes of senators and representatives who vote the perpetuity of slavery in the States under the present form of the Constitution. It is an atrocity such as all the pirates on the ocean, and all the other pirates on the land, have not the power to perpetrate.

As the evil inspirations of our Constitution, as it has been and is, are "past finding out," so the evil deeds of our great men acting under it and in the spirit which originated its iniquity, reach in their effects beyond the power of language to express, or of thought to conceive. If George Washington, when he took the sword to strike for American freedom, had

started with first striking off the chains from his own slaves; and then, when the foreign foe had been driven from our shores and his sword returned to its scabbard, if he had stood firmly and persistently against the enslavement of the millions, concerning which Jefferson said, "one hour of their bondage is "fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in "rebellion to oppose," he, in co-operation with the North, might have kept that fatal compromise out of the Constitution—or he was no such man of inestimable power for good, swaying all before him, as he has been worshiped for. But Washington has been credited with having provided for the emancipation of his own slaves. Compared with his example, under the circumstances of those times, how infamous the acts of those who now sell out the interests of freedom for the paltry honors of a place in the service of the sovereigns!

If Seward is to be relieved by being yoked with Washington, Washington is to be burdened by being yoked with Seward. The responsibility is not to be escaped. Yoke them or leave them unyoked, as you please. Piracy on the high seas, by the side of the derelictions of the one of these and the overt acts of the other, is petty larceny by the side of burglary and arson.

Horace Greeley is another among the prominent indexes to the evil inspirations of our Bible and our Constitution. He has been written to, by Gen. Leslie Coombs, a Kentuckian, who tells him that what he (Coombs) writes "*must be heeded.*" Horace Greeley, in response, specifies what he says, "seem to me "essential bases of a settlement of the Territorial and Slavery "questions which I deem essentially fair, just and reasonable. "A settlement on such bases would be repugnant to no moral "sense, would leave no room for heart-burnings, and would be "essentially indestructible." The question arises to know what must be his views of *fairness, justice and reasonableness*—and what his *moral sense*. In these bases specified, he has made no provision for educating the multiplying millions. Leaves them forbidden the knowledge of letters, and unprotected in their social, conjugal, parental and filial rights. Himself and the majority bound to sustain with influence, money, force and arms, the ruling minority in this reign of terror and desolation. Whom is he speaking for? What must be his estimate of the

moral sense of the people of this nation? No other political editor in the nation wields more weight of influence. And this is the *morality* to flow from such a fountain. We must have better text books from which to educate for our press, our pulpit, and our forum.

"Would leave no room for heart-burnings." Has Horace Greeley forgotten the bludgeon of Rust? What security has he provided, in his terms of settlement, against being again knocked down in the streets of Washington? He requires nothing from the South that the Constitution did not in words guarantee to him when he was knocked down before. Is it then that he is to find his security in being more quiet? And does he undertake to guarantee that others are to be more quiet, while they see him bend the knee a little more, and a little more, and take off his hat a little sooner, and keep it under his arm a little longer, in the presence of his intimidators, with bludgeons over his head? Does he need to be told that slavery will be made more and more exacting by every concession? It is in the nature of slavery to recognize only masters and slaves. It makes men into brutes, driving and being driven, crushing and being crushed. Horace Greeley, the moment he steps over the line of States, is himself a slave, crouching under a cudgel or shrinking from a halter. It will always be so, in spite of any settlement he can make by concessions. While slavery exists, all the people of the *Union* must be slaveholders or slaves. It always has been so. This nation consists of thirty millions of slaves and three hundred thousand slaveholders.

Just as this paragraph is finished, the mail brings Greeley's letter to Crittenden, giving reasons for refusing to compromise. It is manly and brave. It will be an honor to Horace Greeley as long as he lives, and long afterward. Only, "standing by the Constitution as it is" must not be construed into a pledge from the people of the North to *perpetuate* it as it is. That will never do. The "*moral sense*" of this nation must be improved, till the millions now constitutionally kept in ignorance and bondage shall be constitutionally taught the knowledge of letters, the knowledge of their rights, and have the enjoyment of them.

Before the mail arrived, occasioning this last paragraph, the ink was in my pen to say that Horace Greeley has been criti-

cised, not because he is worse than other political editors in general, but because he is better. A large part of them are beneath criticism. The object is to show the perniciousness of the evil inspirations of the Bible and the Constitution on the better—and particularly the more influential.

Daniel Webster was the expounder of the Constitution. He began by expounding it for liberty. He came out expounding it for slavery. They who blame him for inconsistency require him to be more consistent than the Constitution. In this work of self-neutralization he was the true and genuine exponent of that instrument. The Constitution is the same self-neutralized thing. In this it is like another production that has sometimes been accepted as its superior; and that on one page teaches despotism, on another page, freedom; in one part, punishment, in another part, pardon; abounding in the highest authority for war, and for peace; dishonesty, and honesty; perfidy, and good faith; falsehood, and truth; indulgence, and abstinence; incontinence, and continence; iniquity, and equity; ill-doing in all conceivable ways, and by all manner of means, and well-doing in general. The difference in these productions, and the use that has been made of them is, while the older has been subjected to interpretations going from bad to better, the newer has obtained interpretations going from bad to worse. Both have kept up confusion, cursing with inspiration of ignorance and war—of lying and hypocrisy—of theft and robbery. These are the debauchers that have caused to be conceived, and brought forth, and reared up, and sent abroad, our clans, our legions, our hordes of prostitute priests and politicians, to pour out poison, pollution and death. These vast armies of debasers and demoralizers are vying with each other in humbling themselves, and making themselves diligent and dirty, in degrading tasks dictated to them under the lash. Success only makes them the more servile. The party that have recently come into place have been in hot haste to get into humiliation. Have been instant, incessant and clamorous in their concessions, lest they get into disfavor and be displaced. They don't call for the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, they deprecate the disturbance of it. Don't ask to be excused from being its hounds and its hangmen. The dastards dare not beg the poor privilege of washing themselves from the dirtiness. Infinitely less

are they equal to asserting their manhood and refusing to prowl and plunder for pay. So long as they can share in the robbery they are willing to be tools in the hands of the robbers.

All this comes of veneration for antiquated authorities—comes of iniquitous inspirations from an old parchment and an older book, the productions of times when necessities made men mean enough and ignorant enough to think themselves too poor to be honest. The same canting Tories who, in the costume of Republicanism, with their faces turned North for favor in the hour of their agony, denounced Douglas, that desperate demagogue of Union-Popular-Sovereignty-Democracy, because he “didn’t care whether slavery was voted up or voted down,” the moment they have succeeded in shoving him aside, are on their knees to make satisfaction to those they have by this very means offended—ready to yield, not only the stipulated amount of flesh, but blood into the bargain.

It is wonderful to witness the working of this inspiration from the old scroll of “rhetorical flourishes” and “glittering generalities,” and the older volume of monstrosities. It palsied the tongue of the noble Hungarian who visited us. It poisons the Irish patriots who come to make their homes with us. It has cowed our Quaker poet into equivocation. It is in character for lawyers under our Constitution, and for divines under our Bible, to talk of the “right” of might to rule. It is not in character for our Quaker poet.

John G. Whittier has surrendered, and gone down into the servility. He has been placed in the electoral college by the Republican party. So he, too, must show his hand for slavery “in the States.” He now says: “With slavery in the States we have no right to interfere, and no desire to do so beyond the mild persuasion of the successful example of freedom.” What does this mean? Does it mean concession to the holders of chattels in children and parents, husbands and wives, that, if they choose not to follow the “examples of freedom,” it is right for them as long as they please to hold on upon their human chattels, and hold John G. Whittier and the rest of us bound to back them in that position? If he does not mean this, will he tell us what he does mean? If he will say it is wrong and inhuman in them, and yet that it is right for him, in fear of them,

to help them, let him say that—let him make that humiliating concession—let him put himself in that pitiful posture. That is manifestly what he means. It is simply confessing himself one of their slaves, cowering, cringing, crawling under their ~~ethruts~~. It is the equivocal language of politicians. It is the language of compromise. It is the language of the Constitution. It is the language of the Bible. It is the language of ignorance. The “right” in the case is the right to do wrong to any and every extent, under authority. It is the right of children to live by stealing horses and robbing hen roosts, because their parents have taught them this occupation and enjoined on them continuance in it.

Which way does progress run? Is the voice of dead men more than the voice of the living? Because the dead have spoken their wisdom, is it for the living to listen and be silent? Did wisdom die and did we bury it with our beloved and revered parents? What business then have we with steel plows, reaping machines,^{*} mowing machines, sewing machines, steam-navigation, telegraphs and railroads?

“No right to interfere with slavery in the States” is here intended to be understood as a pledge not to agitate for amendment of the Constitution, to relieve himself and the rest of us from support of slavery—or the language will bear no construction relieving from liability to the charge of having been spoken to deceive. It is plainly intended as a pledge to the South to continue faithful in their service, under the commands of the Constitution—allowing them to put their hands in his pocket as deeply and as often as they will, to “provide for calling forth” “the militia to execute the laws of the Union, *suppress insurrections,*” and to “*protect them against domestic violence*”—paying postage for them, allowing them a balance of power in a property representation, &c. He concedes their “right to interfere” with him, and compel him to be their sentinel and body-guard, while they rob, riot and ravish. This concession—to have the interference all one way—all against liberty and humanity; and to have it perpetuated—is the more shameful and scandalous, the more the part of a craven and recreant, inasmuch as the Constitution provides him a remedy. If our fathers had made the Constitution, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable, he might have plead for a measure of relief from re-

sponsibility. Might have thought to have some plausible excuse for undertaking to throw the responsibility of the living back on the dead. But he has ground for no such plea. There is provision for amendment. And it is not said that the *amendment* shall all be for slavery. It is his own voluntary act, then, when he consecrates his services perpetually to slavery in the States, promising not to interfere against it.

Whittier talks bravely about the barbarity—where it does not exist. Says: "Outside of the sovereignty slavery has no "more legal right than polygamy out of Utah. Its home is "only in the States. Every where else it is an outlaw." And *such* an "outlaw" as it is "*outside* of the sovereignty," how does it become him to "interfere" for the support of, *inside* of the sovereignty? Sovereignty is a significant word here. Its signification involves more than he meant to be understood as saying. It involves submission, on his part, to sovereigns, who hold scourges of scorpions over his humiliated head. And that word, "interfere," too, involves a meaning more than he meant to make manifest. It really means that he may and must interfere against liberty, in support of the Constitution and the Union, which are the perpetutors of slavery. John G. Whittier is as much an advocate and defender of slavery, in supporting the Constitution and the Union as they are, as he would be an advocate and defender of murdering witches, by supporting the old law of Massachusetts for that abomination, provided that law were now in existence. The comparison is weak. It is only drawn to place him in his position. The difference in responsibility against him where he now stands, words and figures are wanting in power to compute and express. If John G. Whittier feels inclined to console himself that he is in company with a multitude who will help him bear the responsibility, he is welcome to the consolation. If he feels relieved by dividing the matter between himself and his fellow-loyalists, he is welcome to the relief, and to the benefits of the loyalty.

It is a question for men of thought and of probity—men of virtue and of value—to put to themselves, to know whether or not they would now enter into such a bargain for themselves, if they were out of it. Would they take that method to promote human well-being? Would they become partners in the

robbery and oppression? Would they give such advantages, for the sake of being in such company?

“No right to interfere with slavery in the States?” But it interferes with *us*. It degrades labor. It inhibits speech. It suppresses intelligence. It corrupts our press. It debauches our pulpit. It makes our Constitution an iniquity—of course the people constitutionally iniquitous. It makes the people of the North cowards and kidnappers. It makes pirates of our seamen. It makes mobocrats of our mayors, our merchants and our manufacturers. It strikes down our senators. It assassinates our philanthropists. It murders our citizens. It carries bribery and intimidation into our legislative halls and our judicial and executive chambers. It emasculates our Websters and our Everetts; and makes traitors of our Buchanans and our Searsons. It makes misrule and anarchy.

Such a system will never cease to interfere with us, while it is allowed to exist. Will never relinquish its purpose, while it is conceded to, till it has carried all before it to the ground. It knows no propriety or right. Nothing but to advance when and how it can; and recede only when and where it must. To compel, or be compelled. To drive, or be driven. To destroy, or be destroyed. Talk not of setting bounds to such a system. Reasons for restraining it are reasons for retrenching it. Reasons for retrenching it are reasons for extinguishing it.

There remains only the question of measures. How shall it be done? Begin, then, by unyoking ourselves from it. No longer holding ourselves by a contract we never made—a contract such as we would not now make, and would at no time have made for ourselves—a contract that is *no contract of ours, because we had no hand in making it*; an affair of fraud; a thing of overreaching, framed for and accepted by others, and imposed upon us; and that we are therefore at liberty to relieve ourselves from. It was no more competent to our predecessors to lay us under tribute to South Carolina, than to the Pope of Rome—to Southern slavery, than to the Catholic, or any other religion. This declaration involves no undue disrespect for predecessors. It is only maintaining due respect for successors.

The Constitution wisely and virtuously provides against legalizing religion. Religion enslaves—enthralls. It compels. It binds. It ties up. It puts in fear. It keeps in awe of arbi-

trary power. It educates into ignorance of nature—of natural rights and relations. But no religion dares now, in our country, to prohibit in its own name and for itself on its own responsibility, the reading and writing of our own language. Neither the Episcopal nor the Catholic religion, if clothed with State power for taxation, would dare do this. Yet this enormity is perpetrated under Constitutional provisions, backed by Bible sanctions. The Bible takes cognizance of slaves, not as teachable beings—developing intelligences—but as things of traffic, chattels, “*money*.” In my boyhood I read—I think it was from Patrick Henry—that “intelligence is the life of “liberty.” It was a lesson the Bible never taught me—a lesson the Bible does not teach. The impression received was deep, and has been abiding. The Constitution and the Bible which legalize, sanction and sustain a system that prohibits reading and writing to multiplying millions, are now out of time and out of place. They belong to the past.

We shall never have peace and good neighborhood, till there is wisdom enough, and goodness enough, to make Bibles and Constitutions that don't need priests and politicians to expound them; and then we shall be so wise that Bibles and Constitutions will be useless.

It is time for the people to know that their rights are not derived from Bibles and Constitutions. That Bibles and Constitutions are only the necessities of ignorance—things to be changed—to be outgrown and displaced by better things. Bibles and Constitutions are war-makers, blood-shedders, punishers, enslavers, destroyers. It is for men and women to be peace-makers, emancipators and saviors.

It is for the friends of freedom to say, we have had hands in this iniquity already too long. We will stand it no longer. We will be out of it. We must and will be released from the responsibility. Those who will persist in it cannot have our help. Put away the wrong, or we shall put ourselves out of the partnership.

If this be not effectual in reforming our wrong-doing neighbors and partners, it will at least be reformation in ourselves. This we owe to ourselves and our children. We have no more right to help kill, than to kill—to help oppress than to oppress. No more right to sanction and sustain the domestic traffic than the foreign traffic. No more right to aid it “inside

"of the sovereignty" than outside—the South side of the Ohio river, than the North side. No more right to consent to be held in it because we have been thrust into it, than to go into it voluntarily for ourselves. It is not for such a majority thus to be ruled by such a minority. Thirty millions have no business to be slaves to three hundred thousand. We can be out of it. We are therefore inexcusable for being in it. The way is to say we will have no more to do with it, and stop. It is as plain as for any thief to stop stealing. It is not always quite convenient for a poor, unfortunate sheep-stealer to do without his mutton, or to accustom himself to better ways of obtaining it. But we require him to do it. There is a better way than for us to be strengtheners of the hands of oppressors. To help them for the sake of pocketing a part of the gain, is to make ourselves as felonious as they. To help them, in fear of them, is to add cowardice and baseness to our felony and inhumanity. To induce them, by our help, to do evil they would not otherwise do, is to make ourselves responsible for their evil deeds in addition to our own.

John G. Whittier's protest against right of interference, is the protest of a slave against right of interference with his chains, and the right of his masters to chain him. This is the condition of all the slaves who are consenting to be chained by the Constitution and the Union, and held in subjection to their masters, the minority. It is the condition of every loyalist to our system of government as it has been going on hitherto.

"No right to interfere with slavery *in the States!*" Putnam had no right to interfere with the wolf, *in the den!* Allen had no right to interfere with British power, *in the fort!* But all illustration is weak and frivolous. Human language and human history can furnish no illustration for the case. There is nothing like the terrible facts we have to deal with. The right to interfere with slavery in the States, by throwing off the yoke of the Constitution and the Union from our own necks, is the right of the majority to rule themselves, instead of being ruled by the usurping, overbearing minority. It is the right of slaves to assert their own freedom. It is the right of those who have tongues, to speak. It is the right of those who have brains, to provide for developing intelligence. It is the right of parents to educate their children in rectitude and righteousness, quali-

fyng them to be neither slaves nor slaveholders. It is the right of a community that would cultivate morality, humanity, virtue, refinement and purity, to cleanse itself from the contaminations of legalized robbery, cruelty and debauchery. It is the right of those on whom rests the responsibility of giving character and exerting influence abroad, to disabuse themselves and set a better example among the nations.

The Constitutional Compromise is foul conspiracy against freedom—a villainous league against the rights and liberties of the producers. A Union built on it is a structure that cannot stand. It is cemented with human brains. The time has come to make a more legitimate use of that element. They who manipulate for ignorance, in these times, are themselves in ignorance of their own epoch. They who now rob of brains better be warned by the fate of those who once robbed of eyes. To contract intellect and expand lungs and muscles, is putting out of proportional development for the present period.

Why are our rulers trembling with fear?—their hearts failing them, and their knees smiting together? It is consciousness of being in the wrong. It is the faltering of those who are plotting treason against humanity. It is not for such to have courage. Courage arises from virtue—from consciousness of being in the right—of strength in integrity and uprightness. The ruling is with robbery and unrighteousness. Every thing is done in fear. Reason is repressed with rage, rant and roar. Right is trodden down. Mercy is mocked. Equity is contemned. Our officers of government, from lowest to highest, are either self-created or the tools of corrupted creators—made by the use of caucuses and mass-meetings, maddened with money and whisky. Under such inspirations, why should not the advocacy of reason and righteousness be denounced as folly, fanaticism and disloyalty?

The Constitution binds the laborers North, with the productions of their labor, and with their lives, to keep books out of the hands, and knowledge out of the heads of the laborers South. This is the liberty we are told of as being the inspiration of our government. It is the liberty of the higher order of slaves to keep the lower order from rising. What else can they do so effectually to enslave and degrade themselves, and to keep themselves enslaved and degraded? It is as suicidal as

it is fratricidal; and it is as fratricidal as it is suicidal. It is allowing ourselves to be compelled to be our "brothers' keepers," to their destruction and our own. It is loyalty to tyranny. It is treason to humanity. Our hands are at the heels and the throats of our fellows, to keep them in the power of their merciless oppressors, who could not keep them without our help. We are cowed into this condition by the Constitution used instead of the cowhide. What signifies it to us, that the parchment has liberty written on it, when it is cut and twisted into thongs to lash us into submission and bind us in slavery? Northern politicians use *their* slaves as the Southern planters do theirs—flattering them, inflating them into petty tyrants, by putting them in possession of these whips and making overseers of them—the most ignominious of all servility.

Human government thus makes itself to be mockery and farce—divine government, to be humbug and imposture. Necessities of ignorance all. Will intelligence ever prevail?

We come now to Senator Seward's 12th of January speech, shadowing forth the policy of the incoming administration, to be under his premiership. Until this speech, in all the "fanatical" clamor for the Union, scarcely any attempt was made, next to nothing was done, to show cause why—to give a reason. The Ahimaazes "saw a tumult, but knew not what it was." H. W. Beecher came the nearest of any one to speaking sensibly on the subject, so far as it pertained to showing the real value of the Union. He ridiculed the idea of "Union for the sake of the Union." Had seen this on a banner, and pronounced it a "poor-house inscription." The Union and his god are manifestly of about equal importance to him. ["All there is of god to him is bound up in the *name*" of a character, whose preaching, while he "went about doing good," consisted of countless contradictions, including the utterance of several fine parables, and the rehearsal of some sound morality and sublime philosophy taught by his predecessors; and whose practice, while he seems to have been eminently successful as a "healing medium," and altogether preferable to modern allopathists, yet cannot be commended for example to be followed, in the matter of destroying his neighbors' fruit trees, sending devils into his neighbors' hogs and the hogs into the sea, stim-

ulating wine bibbers with conjured water, and feeding the hungry rabble with crumbs magnified by faith.] We shall see, by and by, that before Beecher got through with it he made the Union worse than ridiculous. He virtually made it a millstone about the neck of freedom. It will appear also that numerous others have unwittingly done the same thing; while all the Union "shriekers" have failed to show a single sound reason for continuing and perpetuating it on the present basis. The annoying noise has amounted to about this :

1. Our fathers made this thing. Therefore it is holy. Therefore it is to be kept in an ark perpetually, to furnish employment for the holy hands of a countless retinue of self-consecrated political priests. "Great is Diana."

2. We shall have war—if we put away this thing that has kept us at war among ourselves, when it couldn't keep us at war with our neighbors.

3. We have paid scores of millions for territory—involving worse than waste of hundreds of millions besides, (saying nothing about lives), for wars and their concomitants. Therefore we should continue on, and waste additional hundreds of millions, in carrying out this wretched policy to utter destruction.

If there has been more than this of it, it has not been brought to my observation; and the Cincinnati *Daily Commercial* and the New York semi-weekly *Tribune* are at fault. So great has been my confidence in the intelligence and enterprise of these journals, and they having failed, up to that time, to show anything better, I was about venturing, on behalf of a nation needing to be made more wise with truth and reason—and not more unwise with clamor and confusion—to defy any politician or statesman to define his position and defend it, in regard to the Union.

Whatever Senator Seward may think he has done, or may be thought to have done, at defining, his defense is that of an able, eloquent, winning lawyer, managing a desperate case. He is badly defined, and worse defended. Has made a bad use of good English. With fine rhetoric, flowing periods, and captivating intellectual display, he has done infamous work. To all the senseless sound that went before, he has added the most insulting sophistry—acting the part of a subtle, sold-out magi-

cian. If the people can longer submit to such insulting treatment, it is because they have already too long been under downward manipulations in the hands of such magicians, in church and in state.

It is monstrous perversion, when men of uncommon intellectual endowments, having made it a lifetime study to become powerful in the use of words, employ them, in high places, to deceive, to deprave—endeavoring “to make the worse appear the better reason”—

“Leading to bewilder, and dazzling to blind.”

When law and gospel show and prove such to be the legitimate business of their makers and their disseminators, it becomes Henry Ward Beecher to be sincere and earnest in exclaiming, “Blessed be infidels!” Truly, the people are this time, as Dryden hath it,

“Spelled with powerful words.”

The charm must be broken. The magic must be dispelled.

The place to begin is where Seward leaves off. Commence at the feet, and disrobe the thing that has been brought to us in this tempting apparel, commended to our tenderest affections, to be embraced and cherished, and we shall discover a hideous hag,

“A monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen.”

Instead of finding a “Greek Slave,” it will be American slavery—a sight to turn away from with disgust and loathing.

The Senator comes through, saying of the Union :

“No, sir, if it were cast down by faction to-day, it would rise and re-appear in “all its majestic proportions to-morrow.”

In this single sentence, in his closing paragraph, he unsays all and everything he has previously said. Taken in connection with his previous sayings, it is a full confession to the conviction that it would be better that the Union be “cast down” for the removal of its disorganizing element—for its purification—that so it might “rise and reappear” a sound and permanent structure. He knows that sooner or later it must come to this. Several years ago, he saw and said, “the conflict is “irrepressible.” He was sincere in that utterance. It was the conviction of a discerning, observing man. It is the conviction of every man of discernment and observation.

To talk of “its majestic proportions,” as it now is, or ever

can be with its present materials, is to talk of the perfection of a statue, one half marble and one half mortar ; the strength of a cable, one half the links of clay ; the power of a locomotive, with one driving wheel of potter's work ; the permanence of an edifice one half granite and one half adobe ; the resplendence and vitalizing energies of a sun, one half eclipsed. Just as sure as such a statue would never remunerate nor immortalize the sculptor—just as sure as such a cable could never lift the anchor, nor help the ship to ride out the storm—just as sure as such a locomotive would produce disaster—just as sure as such an edifice would not be earthquake proof—just as sure as such a sun would be universal desolation and death for the present orders of intelligences on our earth—just so sure liberty and slavery cannot dwell together in unity. Fire and water are not more irreconcilable. This must be dissipated, or that extinguished. Our compromisers should be taken from the places they occupy, and sent to the common schools to learn the plainest lessons of natural and moral philosophy, and the most instructive teachings of history.

If there be such recuperative power, why distrust it? Whence the alarm? What cause for all this sham show of pretension to the contrary? There *is* such power. He knows it. He knows where it lies, and in what it consists. He knows it is in the intelligence of the people of the North. He knows that in this intelligence there is reliable virtue and integrity, equal to a stronger structure than has existed hitherto, or can exist, in connection with slavery. How false and treacherous then in him, and how insulting to this intelligence, to make appeals to ignorance, tending to the destruction of proper self-respect and self-reliance—exciting as much as possible fearful apprehensions, by pointing to the doings of semi-barbarians and monarchists. He knows, in regard to foreign invasion, that the South is not equal to taking care of itself; that with its slavery on all that extent of coast, it is an increase of hazard to the North, and would be a detriment, instead of being any help against a common enemy. He knows that slavery has made our late wars; has been trying to get us into war with Spain and Central America; that it is the only war element in the nation; and that it *is* an element exposing us inevitably and perpetually to war, intestine, border, and foreign.

If he would be understood as meaning to say that, after being "cast down," it could "rise and reappear" *with* slavery, the reply is, much more it could be done *without* slavery. The affinity in which he has such unbounded faith, would, with the removal of slavery, be strengthened a thousand-fold. What is more, he knows, and virtually says, *disunion would be death to slavery*. See here—he says :

"The opinions of mankind change, and with them the policies of nations. One hundred years ago all the commercial European States were engaged in transferring negro slaves from Africa to this hemisphere. To-day all those States are firmly set in hostility to the extension and even to the practice of slavery. Opposition to it takes two forms ; one European, which is simple, direct abolition, effected, if need be, by compulsion; the other American, which seeks to arrest the African slave trade, and resist the entrance of domestic slavery into Territories where it is yet unknown, while it leaves the disposition of existing slavery to the considerate action of the States by which it is retained. It is the Union that restricts the opposition to slavery in this country within these limits. If dissolution prevails, what guarantee shall there be against the full development here of the fearful and uncompromising hostility to slavery which elsewhere pervades the world, and of which the recent invasion of Virginia was an illustration ?"

"It is the Union that restricts the opposition to slavery in this country." It is the Union which is the guarantee against the uncompromising hostility to slavery which elsewhere pervades the world." The Union, then, is the slaveholder. He has himself said it as certainly as if he had used just this number and this arrangement of words, for this purpose. And this is all the Union is worth, with slavery. Without slavery, it would be valuable to all. With slavery, it is a curse to all—destructive to all human interests.

He says :

"If, indeed, it were necessary that the Union should be broken up, it would be in the last degree important that the new confederacies to be formed should be as nearly as possible equal in strength and power, that mutual fear and mutual respect might inspire them with caution against mutual offense."

This is shameful impeachment of the morality as well as the intelligence of the North. As if they were the same ferocious wild beasts and venomous reptiles slavery has made of the South. Whatever there is of it at the North comes of connection with Southern slavery. But the slanderous imputation is rebuked by the forbearance and long suffering of the North, now these weeks, under such provocation as could never exist out of the Union and separate from slavery. Bad faith in all manner of ways. Mobbing. Scourging. Putting to exeruci-

ating tortures. Banishing. Assassinating. All the while this has been suffered and borne with, the North has had tenfold the power necessary to drive all the barbarians into the Gulf. The detractor, the defamer, qualified for bringing such imputations, by intimations, is fit to be dictator of the South Carolina dynasty, under the rattlesnake flag. Fear is the motive power there. It is to put in fear, and be put in fear. Reason and regard for the rights of others are out of the case. It is fitting that those who will persist in that way should be left to be restrained by fear of the oppressed. It is insufferable that they should longer be allowed to relieve themselves of that fear, by using for their life-guards, and whippers-in, the intelligent people of the North who are disinclined to violence.

If the North wanted war, they have had abundant occasion for it, a long time past, in the conduct of the South. The fact that they have forborne and refrained from it under such provocations, is sufficient "guarantee" of their peaceful inclinations. How then is there to be war? The North ceasing their service to the South, all will be right. The South have not the ability, if they have the disposition, to carry war into the North. They have more than their hands full at home. Before Senator Seward, or any other sophist, can show that the liabilities to war will be increased by the mutual separation, or a withdrawal on the part of the North, it must be shown that the South will aggravate the grievous provocations heretofore and hitherto perpetrated. This can never be. Never. The South will then be under the restraint they deserve—the restraint provided by themselves—the restraint resulting from their own polity—their own "peculiar institution." They will be restrained by fear. They will not dare to treat the North as now; just as they dare not now treat the citizens of Great Britain as they do the citizens of the North. If their iron heels become overbearing and insufferable to their writhing victims, they will have to see to that, too, for themselves. Be it so. It is time to have it so. If a third of a million will persist in keeping in ignorance, oppressing and imbruting four millions, under the lash and in chains, it is not deserved that they should have three or five times as many more millions to stand by and keep them in countenance and courage. Senator Seward counsels keeping the North in fear and in danger, to lessen the fear and

danger of the South, in their chosen dangerous, desperate policy. The haters of venomous serpents are to be forced to stand around horrified and exposed, for the benefit and protection of those who delight to employ themselves playing with them. If there be those who will listen to such charming, they must take the fatal consequences. Such would scarcely be worth the warning. If the North, on reflection, don't come to the conclusion that the Union, with slavery, is not worth fighting for,—and, more than this, that fighting to preserve it, and perpetuate it, with slavery, is self-enslaving and suicidal,—and more still, that Senator Seward's counseling them to make peace, by yielding themselves into the perpetual service of slavery, is provision for interminable war,—then I have greatly and sadly overrated their intelligence; and Senator Seward may laugh, and South Carolina mock, at my earnest efforts to deprive them of their prey.

He

“Will not descend so low as to ask whether new confederacies would be able or willing to bear the grievous expense of maintaining the diplomatic relations which cannot be dispensed with except by withdrawing from foreign commerce”

He does descend low enough, though, not only to say this in this shrewd, politic, deceptive way, but to make appeals kindred to this in other directions, picturing disadvantages and expenses, for effect. It is the game of an ambitious, unscrupulous profligate. Saying white, when he means black. Saying light, when he means darkness. Making a show of counseling economy, for the purposes of abandonment. Preaching words of peace, to subserve a policy involving inevitable and perpetual war. Making false show of calculation on disintegration into “many parts”—as if we must apprehend liability to going entirely to pieces, nearly or quite into separate States—when he knows the North would be a unit; and himself apprehends that slavery would soon be abolished—in which case the South could be restored.

He descends low enough in the case to make a grave statement, in face of Congress, the nation and the world, contrary to what he, the Congress, the nation and the world know to be the truth. It is marvelous and ominous, that such a statement, in such a place, from such a dignitary, for such a purpose, should have been passed over in utter silence by his listeners and readers. Not more so, to be sure, than that other parts of the speech

should have been received in the same silence. The speech has been in the papers every where, and read by the intelligent readers of such communications generally. When President Buchanan, in his last annual message, misrepresented the opponents of slavery, the *New York Tribune* did not hesitate to denounce him as "dishonest"—as guilty of an "untruth," a "lie." But when Senator Seward, to deceive the people of the North and cheat them out of the benefits of a free government, a government of themselves; and to cheat them into further and deeper slavery to the South; and all for his own aggrandizement in office—tells them that "the grievous expense of maintaining diplomatic relations cannot be dispensed with except by withdrawing from foreign commerce," the *Tribune*, that knows him to be "dishonest," "untruthful," "lying," in this statement, suffers it to go unrebuked and uncorrected—thus becoming accessory to the audacious imposture. The other papers do likewise. Senator Seward knows, as does every other intelligent publisher, that we have commercial relations with Hayti, without "the grievous expense of maintaining diplomatic relations;" and that the commerce with Hayti is worth more to our government than the commerce with any one among two-thirds of the powers he has enumerated with such parade. Are his brows brass? Are his cheeks marble? Is his heart adamant? Are his reporters his menials? Are his readers ignoramuses, dupes, dogs—that they should submit to such treatment? It was a lesson not to be lost, that the attempt of our Congress to establish diplomatic relations with Hayti, was defeated by the South. It shows "the grievous expense of maintaining diplomatic relations" elsewhere, to be grievous waste, to gratify greedy parasites—a hungry horde of devourers. An ex-member of Congress writes me thus, on this subject:

"A year of extended travel in Europe satisfied me of the utter uselessness of diplomatic connections there. Indeed, it would be better if we were on the same terms with the whole world, as with Hayti. Our ministers abroad do not represent our people, and are useful only as stipendiaries of public bounty."

It goes with a great part of our custom house business, which expends thousands to collect hundreds; and some of it worse than that. Such statesmanship is gangrene, to be sloughed off—is cancer, to be extirpated.

When foreign diplomacy will pay, sustain it; when not, not. Be honest first; then as expensive as you please. Stop robbing—though thereby you have to stop squandering. The North has more means, for all good purposes, separated from slavery, than connected with it.

In an early part of the performance, he thinks

“It will be wise to discard two prevalent ideas, or prejudices, namely: first, that the Union is to be saved by anybody in particular; and secondly, that it is to be saved by some cunning and insincere compact of pacification.”

If he is not, in the very worst sense, and to the last degree, “cunning and insincere,” in this very expression, then it is not to be interpreted by a great part of what he says besides. Read it over, and say what the impression is, received from it. If the second, or latter, clause has any meaning at all, what else can be inferred from it, but intention to express, in some manner or measure, want of faith in compromises? If this be not the meaning, tell me what the meaning is. “The Union is not to be saved by some cunning and insincere compact of pacification.” Now pass over toward the latter end of the performance, take out another paragraph, bring it back and place it by the side of the foregoing:

“Experience in public affairs has confirmed my opinion, that domestic slavery, existing in any State, is wisely left by the Constitution of the United States, exclusively to the care, management and disposition of that State; and if it were in my power, I would not alter the Constitution in that respect. If misapprehension of my position needs so strong a remedy, I am willing to vote for an amendment of the Constitution, declaring that it shall not, by any future amendment, be so altered as to confer on Congress a power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any State.”

What does he mean now, when the two widely separated paragraphs are brought together? In this latter paragraph he is quite unmistakable. He means willingness to alter the Constitution, and make it unalterable, binding the North to perpetual support of slavery in the States. Now, interpreting the former paragraph by this, does that mean to declare the Constitution, as it now reads, a “cunning and insincere compact of pacification,” needing the Senator’s proposed alteration for the benefit of slavery? If not, what does it mean? In whatever view, or with whichever interpretation, help him, if you can, to escape the imputation of having been cunning and insincere, when he uttered the former paragraph. The same im-

putation attaches to a great part of the performance—particularly his conjuring of difficulties to hinder the wheels and make them drag when the machinery is to move for freedom; and his resources and alacrity with lubricating oil, when it is to go for slavery.

The cool effrontery with which it is for the ten-thousandth time asserted that the Constitution leaves slavery “exclusively” in the “care” of the States where it exists, is an imposture not to be submitted to. The sole and simple fact that I am now appealing to the North to absolve themselves from *care* of slavery, will subject me to the charge of disloyalty to the Constitution, from Seward and all his sympathizers. The property votes constitute a balance of power bringing us into all manner of servility in caring for slavery; besides the direct provisions making us its protectors. It is only because the Constitution humbles the Senator himself into servility to Southern dictation, that he makes such shameful admissions. There is in it pitiable lack of self-respect belonging to an upright man.

The modesty manifested in words is commendable, when he discards the idea “that the Union is to be saved by anybody in “particular;” and when he avows that “we must be content “to lead when we can, and to follow when we cannot lead.” But whoever will carefully examine his speech at the dinner of the New England Society, at the Astor House, noticing his high glee, his irrepressible good feeling, his unbounded joyousness, while hinting at an interview which had just taken place between him and Thurlow Weed, during Weed’s return from Illinois, where he had been negotiating the Premiership for Seward,—observing with what perfect confidence Seward spoke of what could now be done in about sixty days, to save the Union,—his utter unconcern as to any dangerous condition of the machinery,—his cool and quiet assurance that it only needed a skillful “engineer to look into the engine and see “where the gudgeon is worn out, and see that the main wheel “is kept in motion;” and then the heralding, some days in advance, of his speech in the Senate, to be looked forward to as salvation in store for the Union—an utterance beforehand from the mouth that is to give utterance for the incoming administration; and finally the speech itself throughout, so exactly in accordance with all this that had gone before—winding up

with his proposal to have the Constitution altered and made unalterable, for the benefit of slavery—having previously put in his proposal to have two railroads across the Rocky Mountains; I say, whoever will carefully put all this together, may see plainly enough who it is Wm. H. Seward intends shall be chief engineer for eight years to come, including conductorship for the latter half of the term.

Again :

“Has the Federal Government become tyrannical or oppressive, or even rigorous or unsound? Has the Constitution lost its spirit, and all at once collapsed into a lifeless letter? No; the Federal Government smiles more benignantly, and works to-day more beneficently than ever.”

Under all the attending circumstances, who else could say this but an arch traitor to freedom, poisoning himself complacently, with bribes in one pocket received, and bribes in the other pocket to be imparted—the bargain and arrangement already made and consummated—only a little time being necessary to get along with it, for the sake of appearances? In his Astor House speech, he only wanted time to “mollify passions and prejudices”—passions and prejudices that had been created by the election of Lincoln. It is fair to interpret what he then said in the Astor House, by what he was now saying and doing in the Senate—surrendering, selling out the North to the South. How else were the passions and prejudices of the South to be mollified? In this way he knew they could be mollified. In this way he was mollifying them. Hence his complacency. When and where others saw impending storm, all to him was fair weather. “The Federal Government was smiling more benignantly and working more beneficently than ever.” At that very moment, when this astounding falsehood was falling from his lips, treason was rampant at the Federal capital, and raging the whole length of the Southern coast; and had been, for several days. Senators then standing on the floor with him, together with the President and a part of his cabinet, would have been in irons, or in halters, before that time, if there had been any Federal Government in existence. There was no such government in existence. There *is* no such government in existence. There *will be* no such government in existence, while slavery exists and the Union exists. South Carolina reigns, and *will* reign, while the counsels of such concilia-

tors of traitors are listened to. The mockery, under the name of Federal Government, is only a bought-up mob, to assassinate philanthropists and intimidate all the friends of freedom. Stripes and stars are humbug. The rattlesnake is the reality that has charmed Premier Seward, [read, in his Astor House speech, his love for the people who have lifted up this ensign,] and through him the dupes of his policy. He is not the first magician who has "lifted up a serpent" to charm the people. [Thus much more for taste, under the teachings and tendencies of sacred literature.] Unmask the monster, then. Down with the stripes and the stars; and let the serpent be seen on the Federal capitol. For it is surely there, while Wm. H. Seward,

"The false dissembler unperceiv'd,"

the traitor of all the traitors, holds sway. In the prostitute hands of this "arch enemy," the folds of the fascinating old emblem are used to hide the proportions of the venomous reptile, thus made more deadly dangerous.

Once more :

"Republicanism is subordinate to Union, as everything else is and ought to be—Republicanism, Democracy, every other political name and thing; all are subordinate—and they ought to disappear in the presence of the great question of Union. So far as I am concerned, it shall be so."

Here it is all out. This goes with the rest and finishes up. Republicanism, in the hands of Wm. H. Seward, is to be sold for Southern favor; and with it "everything else." Much noise has been made, for many years past, at great expense of time, money, morals and intellect, to drum up a party to displace Democracy, so styling itself—a thing alleged, by the rising party, to be a political engine in the service of slavery. But as soon as their mockery of what *should* be the sublime, sacred work of voting is done, making Abraham Lincoln conductor, and Wm. H. Seward engineer, the engineer declares at once that, so far as he is concerned, the machine shall have the gudgeons fixed up, new pins put in, a perpetual motion attachment provided, and thus be made to "go on stronger than ever," and all in the same service.

When he says "everything is to be subordinate to Union," it might, by straining a little, be brought under the definition of one of Hugh Blair's tropes, which he calls synecdoche—the whole being put for a part. He don't mean what he says.

He's "cunning and insincere" again, just as he has been all the while throughout. He means only that such inconsequential things as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and other like "abstract questions," are to be subordinate. Of course he don't mean the all-important, all-absorbing matter of slavery. *That* is exactly *equal* to the Union; and the Union is exactly equal to *that*. They are identical, in interest, in principle, in value. Seriously—there is not the slightest intimation, from the beginning to the end of this advance-premier-performance, that slavery is to be in the least subordinate to the Union, any more than that the Union is to be subordinate to slavery. In fact, when we go back, and go over his work, it appears, on the whole, that the Union *is* to be subordinate to slavery. When he had said, "everything else is to be subordinate to "the Union," if he had gone on through, and spoken sincerely all his sentiment, he would have added, "and the Union subordinate to slavery." Certainly he would. Because he made the Union to be the "guarantee" against the rising, uncompromising hostility to slavery which is pervading the world. Slavery first, Union next, everything else afterwards. Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and all their concomitants, are to be subordinate to the Union, and the Union subordinate to slavery. Such is the programme marked out by this sage statesman, this mild, modest man, for eight years to come.

Finally :

"The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an element of strife in the Confederacy."

So, all there is of this difficulty between the North and the South is only a "*perversion* of slavery to the purposes of political ambition." Slavery *unperverted*—the genuine article—is no bad thing at all—"constitutes no element of strife." A "form of labor," in which the laborers are owned by the capitalist; are his "money;" are to be bartered as bank-stock—sold at auction; are not known in law as conjugal companions, as parents or children; have no protection of law for limb, life or chastity; can never, during their whole lives, for a moment, be in possession of themselves—do one single act as their own, for themselves, self-directed, self-controlled,—but all under the bidding of others; forbidden letters, forbidden intellectual culture, forbidden speech, forbidden testimony; herded like cattle

and swine, and like those animals used to breed for the benefit of their proprietors:—a “form of labor” that educates the employers thus to treat the employed,—and furthermore, to treat all other laborers as much as possible in subserviency to these conditions,—requiring Northern laborers to be sentinels and life-guards for the Southern proprietors, with muskets and bayonets at the breasts of their fellow victims, and cowhides and clubs over their own dishonored heads:—all this, and this not half the description of it all, “constitutes no element of strife,” in the estimation of Wm. H. Seward, who sometime talked of an “irrepressible conflict.” Can it be possible that any considerable number can have been so blinded and dementated by the back-and-forth magic-manipulations of this juggler, as not to perceive that *his* is the “perversion to purposes of political ambition”—and that the perversion consists in an effort, with “cunning and insincerity,” to make slavery acceptable to freemen, and to reduce freemen to the most despicable slavery?

Over and above the wrong and ruin of slavery to its immediate victims, it is crime enough and curse enough, considered only in its effects in demoralizing and brutalizing the slaveholders,—not only the slaveholders proper, with chain and whip in hand, but their aids, from lowest to highest of them—from ignorant foreigners as well as ignorant natives, taught to speak and spell negro with two g’s, to Wm. H. Seward, who teaches that the “difference” between the condition of slaves North and slaves South is not worth having any “strife” about. Is it that he is pouring contempt on labor North, putting it down so very near on a level with labor South; or is it that he is outraging truth and decency, in an endeavor to dignify the “form of labor” South, with a view to convincing laborers North that such are the conditions they are worthy to be in so very near proximity with—to be so closely associated with—to be so positively identified with? Whether it be this or that, he stands equally condemned—equally the demoralized, brutalized subject of the system. Whether he will do the part of the perjurer, in betraying and thrusting down the laborer North to the condition of the laborer South, or the part of the audacious liar, in denying that the laborers South are in a condition that laborers North would sooner spill their last drop of blood than submit to—whether he will degrade free-labor by dignify-

ing slave-labor, or dignify slave-labor by degrading free labor—he is equally the enemy of the interests of freemen—has treated free laborers with insufferable indignity.

How long will society, styling itself intelligent, suffering itself to be flattered with the idea that it is self-governing, submit to such masters, who have nothing to do but to govern for their own aggrandizement? The work done at Washington is the work of aspirants for power. Their cry is Union. Their watchword is Union. Their sorcery is Union. With Seward in the centre, Hale on one side, Wigfall on the other, Douglas on both sides, and Mason marching around, their bedlam shout, their infernal chorus, is Union. Yes, to complete his work of sorcery, Seward, the prince of sorcerers, has finally succeeded in getting John P. Hale to play second fiddle to the tune that the Union “shall preserve the literature, the learning, the liberty, and the religion of the land”—altogether an alliteration worthy of better accompaniments in the use of English—sacrificing to sound not only common sense but moral sense. Such “literature”—such “learning”—such “liberty”—such “religion”—why, this string of words, thus strung together, in such a connection of circumstances, is a text for a sermon that would make a volume bigger than the Christian Bible—and infinitely more instructive. They have, every one of them, from the least to the greatest of them, who have touched that point, shown that the Union is the protector and propagator of slavery. They all know that, but for the Union, slavery would long ago have been extinct in this nation. During the last presidential canvass, all the Republican papers that were worth anything for the promotion of intelligence, demonstrated beyond dispute, that a national polity promotive of slavery is destructive of the interests of free laborers. That the tendency is to put the laborers in the power of the capitalists. To make capital to own labor. These arrant hypocrites, now that they have secured the power in their own hands, turn square about and tell the South it all meant nothing. They were then talking to get votes. Talking to the North to get power to serve the South with. They were then on a platform to make a President and a party—and all to serve the South with. They are now on the Constitution, with their President and their party, ready to serve the South better than they have ever been served before.

They propose changing the Constitution from being an unmeaning, changeable, "cunning and insincere compact of pacification," into an unchangeable certainty to serve slavery with. Union, on this Constitution, is the only "guarantee against the development of the fearful and uncompromising hostility to slavery." The Union that has given slavery the Presidents two-thirds of the time the Federal Government has been in existence, Northern Presidents with Southern principles nearly all the rest of the time, and the control of the national policy, at home and abroad, all the time, is hereafter to be devoted to slavery more exclusively, quite unequivocally, and perpetually. Let laborers learn a lesson from the treatment of the raw recruits at Borodino, where the dealer in the destinies of men moved the human mass up to the mouths of cannons, until the gulf was filled and bridged with dead bodies, for the living to pass over on and get glory and honor to the name of the mover. Whether of the two merciless monsters is the more execrable, the slayer of one generation, or the enslaver of many? All the circumstances considered, there is nothing in the history of human treachery, to equal the atrociousness of the doings now in progress at Washington, under the leadership of Wm. H. Seward and company. Gods, are there, with thunderbolts, to dash undoers and desolaters in pieces? *Credut Judæus Apella!*

Charles Francis Adams is "following in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor," Daniel Webster. Let him come to a like political fate. Webster would not vote for the Wilmot proviso, and exclude slavery from territory belonging to freedom, because it would be "re-enacting a law of God." It was a dodge. It was a trick. It was a cheat. It was one of Webster's "masterly" displays of words, under which to hide himself in a cowardly compromise. What act of his life could he not have excused himself from, under the same pretext? Adams proposes a compromise measure that, at best, would inaugurate another Kansas strife. Does he intend to have slavery there?—then he cheats the North. Does he intend to have freedom there?—then he cheats the South. Does he intend neither, but only to delude for the present, and give a chance for war? Then the honesty, the humanity, and the statesmanship are not worthy a son of John Quincy Adams.

I know a farmer who employs a large number of foreigners, treats them generously and pays them promptly. Being him-

self a hard-working man, and of a sanguine and nervous temperament, he sometimes gets provoked by them; and when his patience is "clean gone" he occasionally swears at them. Not speaking German himself, he generally keeps one who can interpret. On one occasion, a "green one"—at least affecting to be such—who had had his duty plainly pointed out to him, was very provokingly remiss. It was not the first offense—nor the second. The employer looked daggers at him and called out to the interpreter: "Here, Fred., swear at this fellow!" Whereupon, Fred. "turned in" and gave the delinquent his deserts, in kind, as directed.

Being myself without a god to swear by, if I had the least faith in swearing, I should be tempted to pray the Christians, as many of them as are not in this compromising iniquity, to swear at all the compromisers.

Earnestly, sincerely, so deeply does my indignation burn against them, for their grievous derelictions, I could desire the voice of a trumpet and the wings of the wind, that I might adjure the people to drive, to hurl the rascals from their places, and put them under penance. Put them on better behavior. Give them no more employment where they can do so much harm. Send them to the fields and the work-shops; the scientific lecture rooms and laboratories. Set them to cultivating fruits and flowers. Put them to some innocent and useful occupation. Make them earn their bread. At least, keep them from being mischievous and pernicious. If this cannot be otherwise done, put the gamblers, the swindlers, the pirates, in the penitentiary. If the felons that fill our Federal capitol, our State capitol, our court-houses and our pulpits, were in the places of those who fill our penitentiaries and jails, one-fourth of the money squandered to produce the present conditions, expended judiciously and humanely in feeding, clothing and educating those now confined, would secure a better state of society.

They who say, "no compromise," and yet say, "the Union, the Constitution and the laws," as they are, are in a paradox, an absurdity, a self-contradiction and self-overthrow. The Constitution itself, on which the Union is built, is a fatal compromise. The organic law is self-conflicting, self-subversive. Freedom builds on intelligence. Slavery builds on ignorance. The elements are antipathies. The politics are antagonisms.

They travel in opposite directions. They go wider and wider apart. We have got along thus far by yielding to slavery the right to frame the Constitution and dictate the national policy; by yielding everything to slavery on demand. Freedom has acted by permission—has accepted of privileges. It is yet to be known whether it is to act of right.

The Constitution and the Union are as impotent for freedom, as the New Testament and Christian ecclesiastical leagues are for salvation. Both and all are prolific of all but peace and good-will. Both and all are breeders of bloody-mindedness, brutality, anarchy and assassination. Read their history and their present doings. It is blood. It is butchering and burning alive—in times past and times present. It is not necessary here, nor proper now, to go into past Christian history to sustain my allegation. There is enough of what is going on now to occupy our attention. A writer in the *New York Tribune* states that two hundred and fifty persons have been murdered on suspicion, in the single State of Texas, during the past presidential campaign. While I have been writing this discourse, an intelligent young man, who has been spending four years in the South, and the latter part of the time in Texas, has stated to me that the number murdered in Texas he believed to be even greater than reported in the *Tribune*. He says their doings are kept secret as much as possible. This also was said in the *Tribune*. Take these statements with all the allowance we are inclined to—and my feelings incline me strongly in that direction—still, when they are put with indisputable published facts, as to outrages throughout the rest of the Southern States, who, in contemplating them, will not be constrained to say, let us have no more presidential campaigns under a Union producing such fruits, of which we have been having more and more and worse and worse? Senator Seward inquires to know if the “Constitution has collapsed into a lifeless letter.” Yes; surely it has. In letter it provides that “the citizens of each State “shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens “in the several States;” and that “no person shall be deprived “of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” In regard to these wholesome provisions and vital elements, the Constitution will be forever a lifeless letter, while there is Union with slavery.

In vain the loving papers and the loving preachers "scold" the North for loving slavery too little, and scold the South for loving slavery too much. The compromising papers, like the *Cincinnati Commercial*, scold Wendell Phillips for scolding slavery. The *Commercial* says Wendell Phillips has even been so very wicked and irreverent as to call Premier Seward a liar and a hypocrite. [Wendell Phillips better take warning from the fate of the irreverent "little children," who said, "Go up, bald head!"] The *Commercial* then turns and tells our Southern brethren they musn't be so naughty. It's carrying things too far to choke, and strike, and thrust. President Buchanan gets up a prayer-meeting, and Senator Seward a ball. [To a friend at my elbow, the ball is too much like Nero's fiddling when Rome was on fire.] Senator Seward says he loves South Carolina. Well, may be he loves Vermont, too. But, seriously, I tell him his arms are not long enough and strong enough to embrace both and bring them together. All this wretched trifling is worse than children's play.

There is argument for a Union—not for *the* Union, as it has been, or is. It is the argument of sound political economy—if it can be ascertained what that is. It is the community argument. It is the family argument. It is based on the facts showing the economy, the utility, of uniting interests, as far as they are unitable—as Caleb Cushing would say, "unifiable." But Caleb Cushing will have to do more and better than he has yet done at inventing and multiplying words, to make *his* "unification" work. The efforts of the Socialists at community of interests, and their failure hitherto, should be a lesson to these "unifiers," of the Caleb Cushing sort. And the Communitists never undertook the reconciliation of such conflicting elements. They never thought of undertaking to reconcile fraud and fair dealing—labor and idleness—cultivating for the production of ignorance, and cultivating for the production of intelligence. Here are antagonisms that can never be reconciled—contradictions that can never be brought into coalescence. The free-labor system calls for making the laborer intelligent. The slave-labor system calls for making the laborer ignorant. It keeps him in ignorance, that it may rob him of the fruits of his labor; and it robs him of the fruits of his labor, that it may keep him in ignorance.

Slavery seems as necessary, at the present time, to American politics, as a devil to the New-Testament religion. Without these bones to gnaw, the hungry politicians and priests are fearful of being left to starve. How long are these light-fingered gentry to carry on their confidence-games, under license? With what propriety do we outlaw the dealers in dimes, because they are poor scamps and vulgar, and legalize the doings of the dealers in dollars, because they are rich and refined [?] ?

Henry Ward Beecher is showing himself a most masterly player at these games. He has more words to victimize with than any other gamester, political or religious. He can humbug a higher order of intellect. Can by sheer jugglery, move more money out of the pockets of others into his own—enriching himself by denouncing others for devoting themselves to riches. Make a more successful business of begging, by defaming beggars. A more effective use of knowledge in the work of keeping others in ignorance. Can degrade from a higher position. Manipulate with more of magnetic power. Take into his use more positive and effective mediums. Can subject and control a more elevated grade of serviles. Can work a more intelligent gang of slaves. He is certainly entitled to credit for boldness. Has shown himself comparatively brave, on this subject of the Union. More brave than humane. His courage is that of an officer under authority. He is in the service of a master who sunk the steamer Arctic, with three hundred persons on board, including promiscuous characters of men, women and innocent children—foreigners as well as Americans;—and all to punish this nation for its greed of gain and its sin of slavery. He loves and adores a god who will accept for service at his hands the keeping of millions in ignorance and bondage for his god's glory. Says that if by turning his hand he could effect a successful emancipation of the slaves of the South, and the work pass to the credit of men, he would sooner hold those millions where they are, twenty-five years longer, and have his god get the glory of the work. What way he points out, or whether any, by which he would have us expect his god to do it, has not come within my observation. I have to judge therefore from the specimen of his work brought me in the drowning of the crew and passengers

of the Arctic, and his doings as recorded in a volume containing ample accounts of his destroying hosts of human beings, from time to time, throughout thousands of years, for the honor and glory of himself and his servants. Beecher trusts to the providence of this ship-sinking god ; says virtually, that Northern adherence to the Union is the safety and perpetuation of slavery ; and yet counsels adherence. How are these things to be put together ? What must be thought of his sincerity ? My advice to him is, that he take counsel of humanity and warning of reliable human history. He may find a serious matter of his responsibility, before the twenty-five years come around, giving his god opportunity to glorify himself.

Beecher says the South are sinking the ship. Yet he would keep them on board. What for ? To sink the ship ? He has made the wrong comparisons. 'Tisn't the weight of copper ; nor the weight of carcasses. 'Tis the weight of sin. 'Tisn't the ship going to Cleveland. 'Tis the ship going to Tarshish. His other comparison is still worse—is ludicrous. It shows how Beecher can blind and befool—using the noise of words to knock sense out of the heads of his hearers. Those that Paul would have “ abide in the ship ” that was taking him to Rome, [Acts, ch. xxvii.,] were the “ shipmen,” the sailors, who were about abandoning the ship to save themselves in the life-boat. Beecher perverts. He represents Paul as making an appeal to save the lives of those who were leaving the ship. Nothing of the kind. It is “ ye ”—not “ they,” that “ cannot be saved.” It is an appeal to the centurion and the soldiers, to keep the sailors aboard. When Paul saw the sailors stealthily letting down their life-boat, he was alarmed. His faith, just then, when something was to be done, was not in his god, but in sailors. And his instinct instantly taught him whom to pray to. Distrusting and abandoning his god, he turned at once to those who had the saving power. Praying to the centurion and the soldiers, he said : “ Except these [escaping sailors] abide in “ the ship ye [centurion and soldiers] cannot be saved. Then “ the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat and let her fall off.” There was sound, practical sense in that prayer. Paul was more sincere and earnest than Beecher. He didn't pretend to be praying for the salvation of the seceding sailors, at the hazard of all and everything else. In this regard, Beecher has

sunk himself to the bottom, between his two ships. His other ship is saved by throwing overboard. "Every ton that goes down, the ship goes up." "For every State you throw over, you will go up an inch." Yet he counsels keeping them on board. If, with his god of providence at the helm, he had brought out the ship going to Tarshish, with the sinner aboard that didn't belong there, and that must be cast overboard for the salvation of the righteous; and if he had gone through the statement without perversion; he might at least have shown himself sincere. But it is like all the rest of the Union stuff; it can't hold together. It goes to pieces. The client is worthy of the lawyer; and the lawyer is worthy of the client. He says they are wolves, living on lambs; yet would not have them go away and devour each other, but stay and live on lambs. He values the Union at nothing for the North—nothing for the enslaved millions. But he wants it preserved for the benefit of the wolves and the ship-sinkers. This is a new and revised edition of the old doctrine of saving sinners by sacrificing the righteous. Could any one but Beecher get applause from an intelligent audience, for such abominable hypocrisy and monstrous inhumanity? The work is worthy the vicegerent of a god who takes thieves into his heaven of gold, prepared for a "few," letting the multitude "go to hell."

Gods are the normal school teachers and trainers of traitors and villains. Heavens are places for pardoned thieves, pirates, plunderers and murderers; hells are places for unpardoned moralists, who rely for salvation on speaking the truth and doing the right; otherwise there is no truth in the most popular pulpit preaching and stump speaking. Thieves and murderers go straight into the embraces of gods, without any pains of purgatory. Let all honest men beware of gods. Gods keep men in ignorance, deprive them of their reason—make them "mad"—for the sake of taking advantage of them and killing them in their own way and getting glory out of it. That is the business gods have with men; and the business men have with gods. John Brown was an honest man, and lost his life by trusting in a god. The god that betrayed John Brown was the same, or son, or some other blood relative of the same, that betrayed Judah, during two days, into the hands of Benjamin, and the third day betrayed Benjamin into the

hands of Judah, getting glory out of the slaughter of score upon score of thousands. [See Judges, ch. xix., xx., xxi.] Beecher's god is the same stock. It is bad stock. They have been a treacherous race from the beginning. They "repent" of their "good" works of creation, and glory in their bad works of destruction. They delight in sacrificing the innocent for the benefit of the guilty. They reject and condemn the moral acts of good men for the purposes of human salvation. For gods to accept such acts would be to forego their own greed of blood and glory. They are most in their glory when they are most gory.

It is an ominous coincidence of things, that simultaneously with the move to put the perpetuation of slavery into the Constitution, there is a move from various quarters to put in a god. They belong together. And both belong out of anything for human good. If the one goes in, it will hardly pay to make an effort to keep the other out. If both get in, then welcome retrogression, and "let chaos come again." They who are to survive such a wreck as will be sure sometime to follow, may prepare to swim through seas of blood.

As I said of Greeley and the *Tribune*, Beecher has been noticed because he is worth noticing. Such as Nehemiah Adams, otherwise "South-side Adams," are not worth the ink.

After all the *Daily Cincinnati Commercial* has brought to my attention, in its labors for the salvation of the Union, it mustn't be passed by in such neglect as not to have some further notice. The *Commercial*, of Dec. 27, says:

"The Union is the only cement which secures the institution of slavery. The Union lends the moral and material power of this great Republic, to save it from interference in the States where it exists by law. The Union guards the fireside of the slaveholder, and the frontier of the planter; the Union puts down servile insurrection, and returns the slave to his master. It is the Union that gives protection to the sugar product of the South, to the amount of millions annually. It is the Union, and the respect which it compels abroad, that saves American slavery from the universal frown of Christendom."

"I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." "Now, infidel I have thee on the hip." If any Anti-Slavery man, had sent those expressions, just as they are, to the *Commercial*, the act would have been treated as in the highest degree unpatriotic and disloyal. It don't matter that it was the compromising *Commercial's* appeal to the sordid interests of the slaveholder.

Is it true? I say it is true; and that it sustains me in the strongest position I have taken. Numerous other passages might be cited from the *Commercial*, to the same effect. But this is sufficient.

If the *Commercial* had said nothing in connection with the matter, more unwholesome than the foregoing, I might stop here. But it has done things more reprehensible. An editorial for Dec. 14, closes thus:

"We see no insuperable difficulty in the way of compromising all difficulties between the North and the South, to the satisfaction of all who are not the enemies of the Union and the Constitution. Those who shall prove themselves such enemies, whoever they may be, and wherever found, *must be put down, morally and politically.* And a clinching compromise, which we of the North might, in a neighborly spirit and manner, offer readily or accept without hesitation, *would be an understanding that each section would keep its own extremists out of mischief.*"

The expression—"must be put down MORALLY"—savors quite too much of unscrupulousness, as to measures. Who are "extremists?" Will the *Commercial* undertake the responsibility of saying that those it would designate as such are not in general honest men? And how are honest men to be "*put down morally?*" How but by malicious detraction—moral assassination? They who will countenance and encourage mobbing down speech, will next resort to defamation; will make malicious thrusts at character in the dark; and will by all the ways and means in their control create darkness to cover their evil deeds.

The *Commercial* administers wholesome rebuke to Thomas Corwin, for his "unwarranted assumption" and "intolerable intermeddling," recently, as touching the liberty of the press. But what of speech? The *Commercial* of Dec. 4, says of a mob in Boston:

"We do not propose to feel very sorry because the John Brownites were kicked out; though the best plan would have been to let them alone joined to their idol. A mob is deplorable, but it sometimes stumbles upon substantial justice. If there could be a mob down in Charleston, big enough to clean out the secessionists pretty effectually, the influence of the operation, combined with that of the mob in Boston, might be rather wholesome than otherwise."

Here is one of the attempts at creating darkness for the purposes of moral assassination. They who commit piracy and they who protest against piracy, are made equally reprehensible, and together handed over to the mob. These are the

moral instincts and inculcations of a paper boasting a daily circulation of about twenty thousand—a circulation unequaled by any other western paper.

A mob to “put down” interests the *Commercial* would have identity or sympathy with, would be “deplorable,” of course. But a mob to “put down extremists” would be “substantial justice.” The Boston mob was precisely the same outrage upon human rights, as if the people of the country around Cincinnati had walked in and displaced the Compromise meeting in Pike’s Opera, and passed resolutions to the contrary of what were passed. The Boston mob didn’t wait to hear or know what was to be said or done, bad or good. It *prevented* the Anti-Slavery meeting—displaced it, and made itself into a slavery meeting in its stead. Pugh talks about plowshares. If cities don’t want plowshares to run, and grass to grow, where their piles of brick and mortar rest, and where they heap up ill-gotten gain, they better not countenance mobs.

The boasted freedom of the political and religious press, is the freedom of the pulpit and of the plantation. It is freedom to intimidate and to be intimidated. Freedom to sophisticate. Freedom to deprave. Freedom to keep knowledge away from those it is desirable to cheat. Freedom to make their dupes look upon and treat as their enemies those who proffer them redeeming knowledge. Freedom to make their victims believe that ignorance is better for them than intelligence—that it is better for them to have others know for them, than to know for themselves. Freedom to teach that there is no other virtue like obedience to authority; and that the highest authority is self-contradicting, self-neutralizing old parchment; and a thousand times self-contradicting, self-neutralizing older paper; that it is for the majority to be ruled—for the minority to rule. Freedom to justify unrighteousness, and condemn justice. Freedom to instigate mobbing down speech in the North, and murdering it down in the South.

All this results from Union with a system that makes labor disreputable, and cheating reputable—that makes it honorable, professional business to preach and publish falsehood, to keep knowledge from the producers, that the consumers may have advantage of them. They who have to get on, by such base advantages, are moral bankrupts. They can’t pay their debts

to humanity in currency. They are counterfeiters. They haven't the genuine coin.

The struggle of the hour is between brute force and reason ; between suppression and speech ; between religion and righteousness ; between money and humanity ; between misanthropy and philanthropy ; between ignorance and intelligence ; between restraint and development. On the one side in the array are the priests and the politicians, in behalf of the consumers. On the other side, in behalf of the producers, are a scattering few, whose works of sympathy, fortitude and fidelity, have received opprobrious *names*, to be used against them for the want of better weapons.

All will agree, in words, that what cannot bear to be thought of and spoken of, is fit to be out of the way. But this profession, in the mouths of priests and politicians, is utterly deceptive—is made use of to delude and cheat. They don't intend to practice what they profess—nor to allow it to be practiced. Free thought and free speech they hate and treat as their most deadly enemy. They suffer it only so far as they must. They prevent it by all the brute force in their control ; and they take into their control all of this element they can. They conspire together against the liberties of the laborers. They put them under authority with force and arms. They deal with them as with dumb beasts. Religion and politics can't bear free speech. They never did. They never will. Free speech would put them both away. That is the reason why they war upon free speech. Let a layman have the right to stand up before the pulpit, in the midst of the congregation, and speak ten minutes, as often as a priest speaks six times ten, and churches would be converted into school-houses in no time. Let the faithful advocates of freedom have a chance in five, in compromise-meetings, and our state and national halls of legislation, together with our court houses, would be turned into halls of science and galleries of art and music. Moreover, our jails and penitentiaries would become workshops for honest free laborers. Priests and politicians would have to turn teachers of science and art, or go into the classes and ranks, in the halls, the workshops and the fields.

Free speech would at once disarm the despots of this na-

tion, North as well as South, and fill the land with freedom, peace, plenty and prosperity. What do the people quarrel about—wrangle about—fight about—squander their time and earnings about? *Politics and religion—religion and politics.* This is the rule. All else is the exception. It is the policy of the plotting priests and politicians to have it so. It is their bread. It is their exemption from honest, self-sustaining labor. Free speech would soon show them how to employ themselves more legitimately. At least it would show the people how to dispense with the treatment.

It is time to have something done for self-respect—to aid, if possible, in looking danger in the face. The great need now is to know where the danger lies. The greatest danger lies in lack of this knowledge—knowledge of what the real danger is. The prevailing alarms are false. The truth, as to the real danger, is hidden, intentionally by some of the alarmists, unwittingly by others. The alarm that has been cried up and kept up has been the work of rogues and rascals, and their dupes. The object of it, at the bottom, has been, to fabricate and furnish excuse for further compromise. After all that was said for show of sacred devotion to freedom, in the battle of words for place and pay, it would not quite do, the moment that farce was played out, to turn square around at once, and yield everything to satisfy the insatiate, without affecting to fear something “very terrible,” to come to the majority from the minority, if they did not now, as heretofore, after having the words for freedom, have the deeds for slavery. But this is all there has been of it, among the leaders playing the compromise-game, North and South. Of course it will be denied. The North will deny having been so shamefully imposed upon and so deeply disgraced; and the South will deny that they have only been at their old trick, with more than wonted desperation. But time will tell the truth, and expose the falsehood, disgrace, and faithlessness. As many at the North as have helped on the alarm, or been alarmed, at the doings of the South, will yet have the reflection of dupes or of impostors. The more ignorant will be made to believe we have escaped very narrowly, an awful calamity. But the calamity will be found to have been, and to be, that the three hundred thousand have been suffered to put additional chains on the thirty millions.

The newspaper press in general has been serving the people in this matter as the doctors serve their patients. The doctors alarm their patients to get in calomel and get out blood, until they are permanently, irrecoverably diseased; and then they have them in a condition to make them believe they have escaped barely with their lives. And so they have. But what have they escaped? Why, worse treatment. That's all.—Thankful that they have a few ounces of blood left in, and a few grains of calomel left out. Thankful, the people are bound to be, to newspaper publishers, priests, lawyers and doctors, that their brains are not entirely neutralized and paralyzed.

No State of the South could be kicked out of the Union, and kept out. The secessionists are resolute, desperate, crafty gamesters. That is all. They know whom they are playing with. They have played the same game before, often, with the same antagonists; and have always won. They are in a condition to have nothing to fear—everything to hope; nothing to lose—everything to gain—from playing a desperate game. Their object is not to have less of Union, but more of it. They didn't need to be told by the *Cincinnati Commercial*, Senator Seward, and other Northern sympathizers, that the Union is their only safeguard. They were only afraid it would fail them. What they wanted was renewal of the bond and additional security; and they are getting it. They knew no other way to get it. It was this or nothing. They have shown themselves equal to their desperate undertaking. Their dupes are more deeply degraded. Their victims are more hopelessly bound.

They have been encouraged to these steps by seeing that integrity has been failing in the popular press, and in all departments of the Federal Government, legislative, judicial and executive. When Texas was admitted, there was virtue enough in the press to make a sturdier protest against the slavery clause of its constitution being unalterable, than has yet appeared against Senator Seward's proposal to alter the Federal Constitution in favor of slavery, and make it unalterable. When John Quincy Adams was alive and in Congress, as often as Southern men feigned inclination to leave, for the purpose of being hired to stay on worse terms, they were promptly

told that the North was more ready for separation than the South could be. He told them, moreover, that if the bargain were to be made over again, they couldn't get a property representation, and guarantee for protection against insurrection. When Marshall was alive and on the bench, we could not have had a Dred Scott decision. When Jackson was alive and in the chair, or either of his predecessors, we couldn't have had such executive corruption as has been manifested more and more in his successors, until it has finally ended in treason. Our press and our Congress have so far degenerated, we have now proposals from the North to change the Constitution and make it unalterable, perpetuating the property representation, the guarantee of protection against domestic violence; and adding facilities for kidnapping at large. The South have seen the degeneracy going on, and have taken advantage of it. They have seen that the more they have demanded the more they have obtained—that the more their insolence and imperiousness the more the Northern pusillanimity and submissiveness. All they have had to do has been to add to the bluster in words; because the North will bluster in words too, but will always yield, when it comes time for decision. What the North have to do is, to show themselves alarmed—some professedly, and some really—to furnish an excuse to themselves and the world, for their treachery to freedom and human rights.

This Union is like the Christian salvation—it is hell and destruction to the multitude. The heaven is for the "few," whose prerogative it is to

"Deal damnation round the land."

It is said of Governor Butler, of Vermont, a small man in stature, with a piercing black eye, beaming forth intelligence from under a majestic brow, that he once, alone, met a bear in the woods. The man stood firmly, looked uncompromisingly and persistently into the face of the ferocious animal, manifesting inclination to advance rather than to recede. The bear was out of countenance, overpowered by virtue of intelligence, and retired from the unequal encounter. If the man had undertaken a compromise, blanching and backing down a little, he would have got himself into an unpleasant predicament, with-

out doubt. If he had turned his eyes to Hercules, Jupiter, or Jehovah, he would have been in a "fix," before any one of those celebrities could have reached him; and from which it would have been difficult for all of them together to relieve him. The ferocious bipeds, in our Washington bear garden and Southern menageries, are to be overcome by the same power and process used by Ezra Butler against the quadruped.

There is counseling for peace that brings bloodshedding war. There is war that prevents bloodshedding, and brings permanent peace. Shall this prevail—or that? The time has come to choose.

APPENDIX.

The going to pieces of the corrupt church has been a harbinger of human freedom. The going to pieces of the corrupt state is another of these harbingers. In the modern history of this nation, the dissolution of the Whig party was an auspicious event. The dissolution of the Democratic party was an event more auspicious. The dissolution of the Union is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." If the Union is to be patched up again, it will be the work of politicians, for their own private purposes—never the work of intelligent, liberty-loving men, self-moved—never.

Let the North be separated from the South, and have "a republican form of government."

Let the inspiration be of freedom—not of slavery.

Let intelligence govern—not money.

Let not the government have power to use patronage for corruption.

Let offices and officers be created by the people—not by officers.

So of salaries—let them be appointed by the people—not by the receivers of the salaries.

Let there be generous use of money; but let it be to make men virtuous—not profligate.

Let the people provide for their own enlightenment and elevation—and not make it for the interests and leave it in the power of rulers to cheat them into ignorance and degradation.

Let union be for peace—not war—at home and abroad.

The power that is coveted, to be attained by extending empire and centralizing and consolidating government, is dangerous power. Let not the people be flattered with the idea that it is *their* power. It is power for their enslavement. It is the power of politic popes and perjured pirates. There is no safe power—power for salutary purposes—except in intelligence—intelligence of the masses—such intelligence of the masses as will keep them from being employed by masters, to murder each other for their masters' gratification and aggrandizement. Let the people refuse to fight for the gratification of demagogues. Let them accept no policy that will require working men to point bayonets at the breasts of working men, for the aggrandizement of ambitious scoundrels. Let the aspirants for illegitimate power do their own fighting.

Let us have a constitution that shall not make it for the interests of its expounders, and laws that shall not induce their executors, to make themselves misunderstood.

The defenders of Senator Seward, tell us he is playing a deep game, in which it is necessary for him to make himself misunderstood. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Post* says :

“ From his position, Mr. Seward has naturally been better informed, perhaps, than any other man of his party in Washington. But he could not impart his knowledge; he was obliged to permit himself to be misunderstood; he even desired, no doubt, in many instances, to be misunderstood. It best answered his purpose that motives different from his real ones should be assigned to him.”

This is condemnation enough. Freedom and righteousness have no need of such gamblers in their employ—need the benefit of no such games. Such are not the men to be trusted. Somebody is to be cheated. Who is it? The North needs no cheating in its favor—has no need of any mean or undue advantage of the South. It can afford to treat the South justly, honorably, generously. But the people of the North cannot afford longer to be sold-out, dishonored slaves, for the benefit of the gamblers and their accomplices. To think of cheating North and South, liberty and slavery, into reconciliation, is to think of cheating natural elements—cheating light and darkness—cheating fire and water—cheating love and hatred.

Let not the organic law be a fountain of corruption.

Let us have laws that shall not legalize lawlessness in high places.

Laws that shall not be creative of demagogues to make tools of the people; and of sharks to devour them.

Laws that shall induce the makers and executors of the laws to prevent crime—not to instigate it, to get pay for suppressing it; not to create disease, to get pay for a remedy.

Let producers vote, and otherwise act, with reference to providing for their own enlightenment and qualification for self-representation—that they may not be, so much as they always have been, misrepresented and mistreated by consumers.

Let us have laws that shall make it for the interests of our legislators to be themselves intelligent and virtuous, and to promote intelligence and virtue among the people.

It is a death-warrant for our present Constitution, that it dooms forty new-born infants, hourly, to deprivation of all knowledge to be derived from letters and books; and from honest, truthful, faithful speech; having already multiplied seven hundred thousand into forty hundred thousand, in this condition.

It is cause for everlasting execration to fall on the head and the memory of Wm. H. Seward, from all friends of freedom and humanity, that he volunteered to take it on himself to move the nation to perpetuate this enormity. Lest the Constitution, as it now reads, should bear a possible construction giving power to abate this national inhumanity, he moves an alteration of the Constitution, to prevent the possibility of the abatement, and to perpetuate the process. To do this, it takes a monster who, to keep himself in countenance before the people during the enactment, or to turn away attention from the act, or to make out a consistent character for inhumanity and brutality, could get up a ball at twenty-five thousand dollars expense, at the same time thousands of human beings in Kansas are suffering from nakedness and hunger. All the circumstances considered, those other nocturnal rioters and mid-day profligates, his predecessors, Caligula and Nero, the former of whom undertook to famish Rome, and the latter to

burn it, after murdering his own mother, were comparatively slight offenders against human interests. It is an agonizing struggle, a close and doubtful contest, between freedom and slavery; it is a time to make one of the most momentous decisions ever made in human government; to Wm. H. Seward is accorded more power than to any other man in the government of the United States—and he is proudly conscious of possessing it—to turn the scale for inexpressible joy or unutterable woe, to unborn millions; he betrays the entire and inevitable conviction that, the light of his countenance withdrawn from slavery, and with his the backs of the rest of the North turned upon it, it could not withstand the withering frowns of the civilized world;—and he will turn the scale and fasten it against the millions to be multiplied during a hundred years to come. Leases of land sometimes run ninety-nine years. Weed puts over this matter, again compromised, to an indefinite period, beyond this generation and the next. Seward, in his 12th of January speech, shows his readiness to make the condition unalterable for a “century.” In fact, for all time to come. “*Unalterable.*”

After showing his readiness now, at the expiration of three-quarters of a century, to change for the worse, why, if he could live on, should he not be expected, when his century comes around for another change, to make it worse still? At the present time, in the beginning of the career of this merciless manipulator for misery, moral darkness and death, more than forty children, every hour of the day and every hour of the night, are born into his brutal hands, to have each an iron compress fastened on its head, as fatally preventive of knowledge as the Chinese shoe is of motion. Soon it will be sixty an hour; then a hundred; and onward. In fifty years, the living numbers will be nine millions; in a hundred years twenty-five millions; and in the mean time more than twice or thrice these then living numbers will have lived, suffered and died in these conditions. For the perpetrator of such a perpetuation of such a process, what would it be additional to murder his own mother and then fire a city? Small matters—very small matters. There is no word painting in these utterances. They are words of soberness, moderation and significance.

Thomas Corwin has identified himself with the atrocious measure, and engineered it through the House. It comes out, for the people to put in the Constitution, *if they will*, thus:

“No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.”

The Cincinnati *Daily Commercial* says of it:

“This amendment was passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of 133 to 65; and by the Senate, by a vote of 24 to 12. It would require the endorsement of three fourths of the States, through the Legislatures, before it could become a part of the Constitution. It was framed by Mr. Seward, and by him submitted to the select committee of Thirteen of the Senate, which was raised to co-operate with the committee of Thirty-three in the House.

“Many persons are disposed to sneer at this amendment, and to call it an insufficient attempt at pacification, a mere matter of form, a cheat, etc., etc.

“We regard it as decidedly important, and of remarkable pertinence. Mr. Seward’s design, in drawing it up, was to meet the persistent charge, made by Southern agitators, that the policy of the Republican party would presently be

"avowedly the abolition of slavery in the States. The importance of this point "becomes obvious to the country, when nearly half of the slave States withdrew "their Representatives from Congress, and spurned the constitutional guarantees "of the peculiar interest of their section, while the other half manifested a dis- "position to remain in the Union, and asked 'additional guarantees.' The "amendment proposed by Congress is an 'additional guarantee.' The *Baltimore American* says of it:

"It removes one of the most dreaded grievances of the South, and forbids "Congress from ever abolishing or interfering with slavery in any of the States "where it now exists. It was feared that the North would, when the Free States "shall number three-fourths of the States of the Union, so alter and amend the "Constitution as to give to Congress the power to abolish slavery in the States. "This is prohibited by this amendment, and so far as it can be accomplished by "Congress, the prohibition of interference is perpetual."

"Mr. Lincoln says of it in his inaugural, that while he thinks the substance of "this amendment is constitutional law, he has no objections to seeing it 'express "and irrevocable.' The amendment should be immediately ratified by all the "Legislatures in session."

No doubt these papers, sympathizing with Senator Seward in the measure, see it as it is, "an additional guarantee" to slavery, perpetuating Northern support of it. It took a two-thirds vote to carry it; *and so it will be seen from the figures that the property vote, with Senator Seward's help, has done its own work for itself.* This is the way the few have always been lording it over the many in the government of this nation. Are the people of the North prepared to throw away their constitutional remedy, and perpetuate their responsibility for such a system—denying to themselves the right of ever relieving themselves, or allowing, so far as they can prevent, their children relieving themselves? Has their past experience in "eating the humiliation" made them so fond of it that they have come to the conclusion it is their necessary food, more than meat and drink for them and their children after them?

Let them know this is the turning point with them. Heretofore and hitherto the plea has been that it was a bargain made by their predecessors in times of seeming necessity. But bad as was the bargain, including that iniquitous property vote, a constitutional remedy was provided. The right of amending the Constitution and relieving themselves was reserved. And now, when the time comes for altering the Constitution, if, instead of relieving themselves, they will change it for the worse, perpetuating the servility and imposing it on their children, the monstrous act becomes their own. They have no longer any excuse.

President Lincoln, in his inaugural address, endorses his Premier, in this most infamous work of abandonment and undoing, this highest treason against humanity, by saying: "I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable." Precisely as was to be expected when he suffered Thurlow Weed to impose Wm. H. Seward on him for his leading constitutional adviser, after the tendencies Seward had disclosed in the Senate. If Abraham Lincoln had any head or heart of his own to the contrary, he has been swindled by gamblers. At any rate, the conductor is in the hands of the bribed, abandoned engineer. The captain, ship, crew and cargo are in the control of the piratical pilot. In his speech, in response to Mayor Wood, in New York, President Lincoln said: "As I understand it, the "ship is made for the carriage and preservation of the cargo." But pirates will sacrifice their human cargo to save their ship and themselves. This is what his pilot proposes doing. To save the Union, throw the millions overboard.

On his journey to Washington, while the people were listening with anxiety to know what he could say to them in these troublous times, the President elect told them all along it was for *them* to save the country. Well, how are they to save it? What are they to do? Why, they are to ratify the measure inaugurated by his Premier, to satisfy slavery. Yes, standing up in the midst of that infatuated, infuriated, demented, demoralized, dehumanized, shouting congregation, ready to go through the mock form of taking his Bible and kissing it, and his Constitution and embracing it, he did not dare do otherwise than, at the bidding of his Dictator, in the hands of dictators, "depart from his purpose," and first of all swear to slavery, that he then and there called on the people to make that "particular amendment" of the Constitution for slavery's benefit, and make it "express and irrevocable." Since our earth has been inhabited by an order of beings adapted to deriving enjoyment from fidelity to enlightened conscience and exalted humanity, did the sun ever shine on a scene so humiliating, so deplorable?

Magnetized by his magician into a "departure from his purpose," this expression has meaning. All the rest, appearing to point in other directions, goes for worse than nothing. All the rest is cant, jargon, jugglery. All the rest is honed persuasion, to get the patient to take the opiate—the victim to swallow the poison.

Did he, or did he not, "blacken his soul with perjury?" His oath in advance to slavery we understand. There is no question about that. But what did he mean when he kissed the book? And what, when he put his hand on the parchment? Did he mean the same then? If he says he did, then he tells us what he understands to be the inspiration of that volume and that scroll. Such an honest and frank avowal would open many blind eyes and unstop many deaf ears in the North. If he meant the contrary, then, here or there, there is perjury. Whether it be this or that, here or there, there is "food for thought" in it, for those who have the ability and the inclination to put as many as three thoughts together.

He sophisticates, Urging North and South to hold together, he asks: "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends?" The propositions are not truthfully stated. There is no foundation in facts for any such propositions. The "friends" are *enemies*. What is more, the enmity, the animosity, arises from endeavoring to hold themselves in false positions, in unnatural relations. By declarations and by deeds the South have shown themselves enemies—or words and deeds have no significance—outrage and murder are love and good-will.

To his questions, truthfully stated, the truthful answer is, yes—yes. Where interests are so utterly hostile as between the North and the South, "treaties can be more easily made" and "more faithfully enforced" than laws. The organic law of our federal system—pre-eminently an enactment "not fit to be made"—was ten-fold more difficult of construction than a treaty would have been. In fact, it never was constructed so as to be a reality. It has only been a pretension. It has only been faithfully enforced as an instrument for oppression—never for freedom. Every wholesome provision in it has been practically a "lifeless letter," whenever and wherever it has contravened the interests of slavery. The Constitution pretends to provide that there shall be "no law abridging the freedom of

"speech;" that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several States;" that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," "nor cruel and unjust punishments inflicted." President Lincoln knows that these essential provisions have never been enforced in the South, and that they never will be enforced, as long as slavery exists; that the South have always trampled them under feet, and always will, as a matter of necessity, while they maintain slavery. In full possession of this knowledge, he bows still lower at their bidding, virtually licensing them, so far as he is concerned, to do worse. He don't expect them to do better. He don't intend to enforce these vital requirements. He don't mean to make the lives, the liberties, and the property of Northern men safe in the South—for the simple and sufficient reason that he cannot—that there is no power in the government to do it—that the government is in the hands of the South, and always has been, by virtue of the compromise and the property vote, made and provided for in the "organic law." If he would be understood as pretending to the contrary of this, when he emphasizes his words and says: "*to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins on me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States,*" he commits "wilful and corrupt perjury." All depends on "*the extent of his ability;*" and the extent of his ability depends on the pleasure of slavery. His understanding of the matter all the while is, that his lord is to pardon him while he bows himself in the house of Rimmon.

To show that all his swearing and kissing, and all his kissing and swearing—taking the inaudible words from the mouth of the superannuated old servant of slavery, and pronouncing them with sounding pretension for himself—meant only service to the South, fidelity to slavery, we have only to quote again, from near the close:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors."

They are already the aggressors, in numberless ways notorious that need not be specified. In what other words need he declare more explicitly that the Federal Government is entirely in the service of the South and their slavery? If more be needed here it is:

"Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of "such offices."

These passages explain what he meant by "*the extent of his ability.*" It means deference to Southern dictation, just as heretofore, only now "more so;" and as much more still, hereafter, as they call for. It means, in fact and reality, that the talk about abiding by the Constitution and enforcing the laws, is all Fourth-of-July fustian.

With all this, some of the Southern papers already express full satisfaction. Others of them must of course make a show to the contrary, and threaten war fu-

riously, till the dishonored, humbled North yield and put in the Constitution the pledge of perpetual devotion to their service.

President Lincoln's faint and faltering question, in its connection, to know whether "it might not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of "each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in "the several States," is a sufficient answer to his other question, as to the ease of making laws compared with making treaties. It being guaranteed in the "organic law," if it cannot be enforced as such, what the use of re-enacting it? This has always been the organic law, and never enforced. And he pledges himself not to irritate the South with the enforcement of laws already in existence. It is all insincerity, then, to talk about re-enacting the organic law, after promising not to enforce laws already in existence. He don't expect his faint allusion to the subject to be heeded; don't look for any such enactment to be attempted. What is more, he knows that if any such sham enactment should be carried, at Washington, by the North, it never would be enforced by the Federal Government in the South. He declares to them: "*The Government will not assail you.*" And this while they are already the "aggressors," in countless particulars, of enormous magnitude—holding the reins now in their own hands. 'Tis all mockery. There is no government, out of their hands.

The allegation universal, North and South, among conservatives and radicals, of President Lincoln's party, is, that the South have committed their aggressions without cause. How then are they to be got along with in future, but by yielding more and more to them continually, as has always been done? No—no. Laws are not the things for such parties. Nothing less than separation and treaties will give security to property or life.

Brothers that quarrel, in family relations, better separate. When they cannot be brothers and love each other, let them be neighbors and respect each other. Let animosity cease. It is not true that separating brothers who quarrel makes them more hateful and harmful toward each other. The contrary is true. If there be any truth and propriety in the pretension that there is the least love left between the quarreling brothers, North and South, the way to increase that brotherly love is to stop quarreling and part in peace. If there be no brotherly love left—if the wrangling and strife to maintain false relations have already destroyed fraternal affection, so much the more will they be on better terms apart. The President made up his inaugural quite too much of newspaper nonsense and senatorial insolence—all of it mercenary—to the abnegation of his own common sense, based on common observation.

He says :

"Physically speaking we cannot separate—cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them."

Nonsense again. No such removal is necessary or desirable. No such wall is necessary or desirable. What of our relations with Canada? And what has the Atlantic ocean to do with peace or war between us and England? And what the Rocky Mountains, between us and Utah? It is not a question of distance. It is not a question of physical barriers. It is a question of other relations, that oceans and mountains cannot regulate nor adjust. In 1812, the ocean did not prevent

war with England. Previously we were connected with England. We quarreled and separated. Are now on better terms, because in truer relations. But the proposition is sufficiently refuted in the fore-going paragraph, and still more abundantly elsewhere preceding.

He declares with special emphasis : "*The Union is unbroken.*" This, in connection with all the rest, is throwing the door wide open and inviting the traitors to return and do their pleasure. The promise to alter the Constitution and give slavery additional security, is offering them a bribe to come in and make still further depredations, and rule the cowed majority with a higher hand. If this be the Republicanism the people have been voting for—if it be the inauguration of slavery on a newly built and more exalted throne, made and warranted perpetual—let them ratify it. The next thing for them to do is to haul down the stripes and the stars, as before suggested, and run up the rattlesnake.

Motley, in his "*History of the United Netherlands*," says of Henry III., of France :

"Henry III., last of the Valois line, was now thirty-three years of age. Less than king, less even than man, he was one of those unfortunate personages who seem as if born to make the idea of royalty ridiculous, and to test the capacity of mankind to eat and drink humiliation as if it were wholesome food. It proved how deeply engraved in men's minds of that century was the necessity of kingship, when the hardy Netherlands, who had abjured one tyrant, and had been fighting generation long rather than return to him, were now willing to accept the sovereignty of a thing like Henry of Valois."

Could language be chosen more applicable to our own case and condition, in accepting the Republicanism we are taking on in place of the Democracy we have been throwing off? Truly, it seems as if this new-fangled form of servility had been "born to make the idea of [fealty to slavery scandalous,] and to test the capacity of [a people flattered, befooled and besotted with the idea they are free], to eat and drink humiliation as if it were wholesome food. It proves how deeply engraved in men's minds of this century is the necessity [of their submission to masters,] when the hardy [people of the North,] who have abjured one tyrant, and have been fighting generation long rather than [submit] to him, are now willing to accept the sovereignty of a thing like" this Republicanism that, in place of a yoke of straw, is putting on a yoke of iron.

How much longer will the people of the North hold themselves in loyalty to a mob, styling itself Federal Government, that has no ability, if it has any disposition, to protect them in their rights? What claims has the rotten pretext for the support of men professing to be intelligent and free? The pretension of a free government is, that the people govern—that the government is their own instrumentality, to guard them in their rights. The Federal Government, so assuming to style itself, is no such thing. Answers no such purpose. Does no such work. It slaughters freedom and lays it a sacrifice at the feet of slavery. It outlaws every individual man and woman suspected of loyalty to freedom. It vouchsafes no protection, in one half of the realm, for the life of any citizen who will open his mouth for freedom; and in the other half it corrupts with bribery, intrigue and intimidation. It is an illegitimacy, composed of profligates and plunderers, who spend one half the time to carry elections by caucusing and conspiracy, and the other half in dividing the spoils. The people who will submit to the treatment deserve to feel the lash on their own backs and drag the chains on their own ankles.

It is said that the number of victims recently sacrificed by Badahung, king of Dahomey, at his annual festival, was estimated at from 2,000 to 7,000. Call it half way between. More than fifty times this number are annually born into Southern slavery. These are American-born children. Now, I ask, in all sincerity and candor, what single Republican voter, what single Democratic voter, what single voter, would not sooner see his new-born infant, the fruit of his own body, put under the club of Badahung at once, than into Southern slavery for a life-time? Then let it be remembered, and not forgotten, that as many as vote for the Seward amendment [what a use of the word!] to go into the Constitution, are themselves responsible for helping to perpetuate our unparalleled barbarism and inhumanity.

I cannot close without calling the attention of producers to one more matter. John Sherman, Senator Sumner and others, would induce you to invest cash capital in this corrupt, sinking concern. It is said that the English government is held together by its enormous national debt. Was John Sherman inspired by a contemplation of that beautiful, enticing, sublime state of things, [I wish he could help me to a word here—for I would like to know what his thoughts were,] when he proposed the issue of the small notes to be taken everywhere by the people—thus striking the roots of the cancer to the vitals. Senator Sumner says:

“Then again, sir, I appeal to the people. I believe the American people are not more unpatriotic than the French, and only want the opportunity to show it—to come forward and relieve the necessities of the Government, as the French people recently, at the hint of Louis Napoleon, came forward with a loan composed of small sums. Our Government stands upon the aggregate virtue and intelligence of the people, and it only remains now that we should make an appeal to the aggregate wealth of the people—the farmer, the laborer, the mechanic. Every man, who truly loves his country, will be willing to give of his earnings to uphold the Constitution and the national flag; and out of these small earnings, inspired by a genuine patriotism, we shall have a full treasury.”

When the “farmers, the laborers, the mechanics,” of the North come deliberately and fully to the conclusion to be *subjects* of such a sovereignty as has been encroaching on them, imposing itself upon them, in time past, and is now getting bolder, more overbearing and unscrupulous, they may with propriety, perhaps, accept of reasoning from what can be extorted from the French subjects by their Master, to what it is for *them* to yield to *theirs*—or to do for them. Before the people, who work for their money, and whose money thus procured is their means for their bread, their clothing, their intelligence, let themselves be the creditors of the government—let the government be indebted to them for their “small earnings”—so that they will be in the condition of those who are under bribes,—before they volunteer, or allow themselves to be flattered, thus to bribe themselves into service to the government, it may be well for them to know whether the government is *theirs* by virtue of any other tenure,—know whether the government takes any other interest in them than to make its own use of them. My counsel would be, a vigorous exercise of a “masterly inactivity,” in such a matter, toward a government so masterly inactive toward traitors—so utterly and hopelessly in the hands of traitors,—not only the comparatively honest traitors, who are outspoken and have committed overt acts, but worse traitors still in disguise. Before the laborers of the North put their money into government, they better have a government of their own, and keep in their own hands

the appointment of officers and salaries. Why not call on the officers of government to put something into the treasury? While the working people are toiling, denying themselves time and opportunity to read and obtain knowledge to guard themselves against the intrigues and impositions of these officers, and putting their hundreds into the treasury, the officers are taking out thousands and squandering in profligacy. For the three thousand dollars to each member of Congress the past session, what have the people in return but squandering, demoralization, treachery, iniquitous compromise, uncertainty, imbecility, impotency, abortiveness?

Take another item under this head, from the *New York Post* :

"THE NEW NATIONAL LOAN,—Let us suggest to the Secretary of the Treasury, Gen. Dix, who has exhibited so much energy, firmness and skill in the discharge of his important duties, that in making the new loan just authorized by Congress, he put in practice the liberal scheme adopted by the sagacious Emperor of the French. Let it be a loan from the people to the Union. By dividing the stock to be issued into small amounts, say as low as twenty-five or ten dollars, it will be put in the power of a large number of persons to enter into the bidding for it, and to offer their assistance to the government. So long as our government scrip is limited to a hundred or a thousand certificates, large capitalists alone are able to subscribe to the funds.

"There is a great deal of money in the community, of which the government might avail itself if it chose, which is now locked up in savings banks, or other institutions for small investments. Much of this is already lent to the government in an indirect way. It is estimated that in New York city alone more than thirty millions of dollars are thus laid by. In other cities there are proportionate sums. In New England especially, where the people are thrifty and cautious, an immense amount of capital has accumulated in the hands of the middle and poorer classes. Few holders of it would object to lend it to the government, and many would be eager for such security.

"While the scheme is therefore feasible it has this great recommendation, that it would directly interest in the prosperity and stability of the government a new and extensive class of citizens. Their attachment to the Union would be strengthened, and the policy of the nation be less subject to the control of the large owners of money."

A "liberal scheme adopted by the sagacious Emperor of the French." What business has the word "*liberal*" in this connection? With equal propriety talk of the "*liberal* scheme by which the sagacious Emperor of the French" first foisted himself into the presidency, by befooling the people; and then, by betraying them, easily helped himself on to the throne. It is a liberal use of laborers to put money and power into the hands of the most subtle and aspiring despot in Europe. This same deviser of liberal things thus extorted, has recently been reported as one of the wealthiest men in the world. Verily, the use of words is a great matter. Such a use of this word *liberal*, in such a connection, shows how much is meant in general in these times, by the words freedom and Union, and kindred words in the same category, in connection with our Federal Government. The Union is a league, a conspiracy, to subjugate the producers, and keep them in subserviency to the consumers. The policy is to make the less oppressed oppress and keep in subjection the more oppressed, and by this employment to keep themselves in ignorance and servility.

This scheming editorial closes with unwittingly proclaiming the fact that the Government has been getting "subject to the control of large owners of money." The scheme now is to get in debt to the laboring classes, and thus "strengthen

"their attachment to the Union." In view of what this Union has shown itself to be, let the "middle and poorer classes" judge of the value to themselves of such an investment. It is presumed by the *Post* that they "would be eager for such security." What security? The matter needs defining. The Government is as bankrupt in honor and honesty as it is in money. I repeat the suggestion that the sharers of the government patronage be invited to invest something. It has just been published that the patronage of the Treasury department alone is six hundred and eighty thousand dollars, in the city of Washington. Equal to six hundred and eighty men employed at a thousand dollars each; or sixty eight men at ten thousand dollars each. Let these be invited to invest; and the beneficiaries of the other departments; and the Senators and Representatives. Why should not these be "eager for such security?" They know too well what becomes of the money, and what the security is worth. The "liberal scheme" now is to impose upon those whose business it is to earn the money; and keep themselves in such ignorance while they are earning it, that those who play this confidence-game on them and swindle them out of it, may return to them, and with a small percentage of it left, buy up their votes—if not by putting back dimes into their pockets emptied of dollars, by putting lies into their heads, in the use of hired stump speeches. [It is a little like missionary operations—a hundred dollars to corrupt and deprave the heathen with, teaching them the tactics of Christian warfare; and a thousand dollars to the corrupted, depraved priests to carry it to them and teach them.] The scheme is an admirable one to induce the people to fight for the Union and the glory of their masters. Let them know that such fighting will be for their own enslavement. If they must fight, they better fight for their own freedom, frustrate the conspiracy, and throw off the yoke.

One more item, showing what becomes of the money. The statements are from the *New York World*:

"Will not the new Administration, in making its diplomatic appointments, have some regard to moral respectability! Our country during these latter years, has been sufficiently disgraced for the lack of this, and foreign nations efficiently insulted. There is hardly a court in Europe which has not had some specimen of the American character in its worst form—a sot, or rake, or swindler. We sent to St. Petersburg an Alabamian who was so helplessly drunk during the six months he remained there he was never presented to the Emperor at all, and his secretary of legation had to explain by assigning the true reason. We sent to Berlin an Indianian who was often so disorderly from the *delirium tremens* at the Hotel Stadt Petersburg (*Unter den Linden*), that its proprietors, to save him from the police, had to send for his secretary to bear him away to his own house. We sent to Stockholm a person who turned his position to account by becoming a regular smuggler. We have sent to Copenhagen at least three precious specimens—one, a debauchee of the very lowest grade; the other two, notorious drunkards. We sent to the Hague a person who maintained the dignity of the country by living over a blacksmith's shop, and whose habits and associations were in keeping. We sent to Madrid a man who made himself ridiculous by his Quixotic duels. We have sent to Turin two who died of *delirium tremens*, and another so shameless that he insisted upon taking his mistress to the king's palace on a great occasion, in spite of the remonstrances of the officers of the household—the result being that the notorious woman was obliged to leave the company by order of the king himself. We sent to Rome a person who was a hard drinker, and whose notorious and shocking profligacy was an utter abomination to every decent Italian. We sent to Constantinople a man who gave the abstemious Mohammedans their first idea of an accomplished American drunkard."

Four of these are each twelve thousand dollars appointments; the others, each seven thousand and five hundred. These are among the diplomacies that, according to Senator Seward, are indispensable to our foreign commerce.

These are but the slightest glances at what this "liberal scheme" involves. Let as many as would swallow a barbed hook, or slip their necks into a choking snare, bite at this bait. Let as many as would tempt themselves to hang themselves, accept this bribe. Let as many as have money to play into the hands of accomplished gamblers, try the game. Before they fasten the chain about their necks, let them see to it that at the other end there is not a millstone. That *savings-bank* is sure to be a *losing-bank*—or revolution is to be turned backward, and developing intelligence to be repressed by tyranny and corruption.

The compromising papers are urging and hurrying the legislatures now in session to ratify the enormity instigated by Wm. H. Seward, and by him and Thomas Corwin carried through Congress. These papers would have the Federal Government at Washington slow toward the traitors, giving them all necessary time to plunder and subjugate the nation; but they would have the serviles of the North in haste to humble themselves, lest the sovereigns of the South get out of patience.

No legislature now in session has any business with the matter. None of them were elected with that issue before the people. The same papers that are urging on this iniquity, are the loudest in condemnation of Southern legislatures, for carrying on their secession proceedings, without allowing the matter to go to the people. This was the way the Kansas-Nebraska bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise, was carried through Congress. Let us have time with the people, and we will find out whether or not salt will save them. My friend Wells, of Cincinnati, apprehends it may require "villainous saltpeter." If Scripture would do them any good, I would say, according to their faith so be it unto them. At the same time, my sincere prayer to them is that they cherish better wisdom, and exercise faith in better works, than to suffer demagogues to employ them at shooting one another, or to hold them longer bound to shoot down their more oppressed fellows, whenever they are inclined to rise and assert their rights, as they have been taught to do by our own fathers. If the shooting must be done, better, far better for humanity, to face about at once and fire in the opposite direction. The producing bees kill off their consuming drones. I have pointed out elsewhere better uses to be made of our consumers. [See page 40.] This continent is worthy a better destiny than to be made a chess-board, such as Europe has been, for the use of such gamesters. Let the people show themselves worthy a better use than to be made to dance for such players,—worthy their place—their time—their opportunities.

These are times to dig deep and find whereon to lay sure foundations for superstructures to stand and endure.

These are times to dive down and sink shafts into mines of enduring wealth.

These are times to bore to the bottom, thrust through, and get living waters for the life and health of the thirsty and feverish nations.

These are times for thorough work—for words of earnestness, sincerity and fidelity.

Never cease the agitation until there is purification, illumination, emancipation and exaltation.

[The following Resolutions, with a slight difference in the first, were read in the National Infidel Convention, in New York city, Oct. 7, 1860, by the author of this Discourse:]

Resolved, That there is more for us to know, and better for us to do, than is attainable under any Bibles and Constitutions, the productions of priests and politicians, and needing their interpretations.

2. That we should be satisfied with nothing short of rational philosophy, sound morality and genuine philanthropy.

3. That the conventionalities of church and state are unreliable and impotent for these purposes.

4. That error, immorality and inhumanity should be deprecated and exposed, in state as well as in church.

5. That it is not in character for the conquerors of the latter to quail before the former.

6. That those who have risen superior to fear of gods, should not be in fear of men.

7. That we are less excusable than religionists, for supporting oppression, iniquity and all inhumanity—they having their Bible authority in the way, a stumbling block which we have transcended.

8. That priests and politicians, left to themselves, wax worse and worse, corrupting church and state.

9. That church and state—both being instituted for government, and in their nature lustful of power for control and self-perpetuation—in their kindred and common jealousy of too much human freedom, hinder each other for good, and help each other for evil.

10. That, after distrusting the church for reforming the state or itself, it is not for us to leave the state to itself or the church, but we should expose its corruptions, and withstand its aggressions upon the rights of mankind.

11. That it is not the part of faithful parents, but is cowardly, base and unmanly, to shirk the accumulating evil upon our children.

12. That it is for triflers and dreamers to deal in abstractions—for philosophers and philanthropists to be practical men.

13. That our influence for good in any one direction, will be strengthened and made efficient by our character for consistency in well-doing in all other directions.

14. That conservatism, as it is construed for the purposes of politics and religion, is cowardice and confusion.

15. That no canting conservators are to be trusted as benefactors, fit to have great human interests in charge, who make conventionalities to be finalities—who sacrifice philanthropic men to unphilanthropic institutions—who live and move, and plan and plot, to hold the ruled in the condition of instrumentalities, to be used for the benefit of the rulers.

16. That pertinacious reverence for parchments has poured out seas of human blood.

17. That the overthrow of governments, civil as well as ecclesiastical, comes from fearing and resisting *change*, the irresistible, inevitable course of nature.

18. That national and state constitutions are no more to be regarded as finalities than Bibles.

19. That, whereas the Bible closes with a curse from its god, to fall on any who will add to or diminish from its sayings, the United States Constitution provides for its own alteration and amendment.

20. That an excuse for our fathers in their infirmities is not an excuse for us in our improved conditions.

21. That it would be as wise and as well for us, obstinately to persist in using their implements for farming and their machinery for manufacturing, as their constitutions and laws for government.

22. That they had no more right, if they had more desire, to entail *these* on us, unaltered and unalterable, than *those*.

23. That witch-craft was as entailable as slave-craft; and would have been less harmful in the United States Constitution.

24. That rights inalienable are uncompromisable.

25. That it is not for one to dictate to a hundred—a third of a million, to thirty millions.

26. That leagues, cabals, caucuses, conspiracies, to blind, mislead and cheat the producers for the benefit of the consumers, are alike villainous in religionists and politicians.

27. That fealty to party should never displace fidelity to human fraternity.

28. That it is abuse of power, breach of trust, perversion of natural appointment, the highest treason of which intelligent beings can be guilty, to make use of intelligence to deceive and keep in ignorance for selfish ends—for base advantages—for the purposes of cupidity and rapacity.

29. That all human beings are entitled to be benefited by all human knowledge.

30. That human knowledge is the highest and profoundest in our reach; is what we have to rely on to regulate our conduct in life.

31. That this knowledge is constantly improving by experience and observation; is more this year than it was last; more to-day than it was yesterday.

32. That Bibles and Constitutions, therefore, being human productions, need often changing and improving, if they are not to hinder human progress.

33. That the Bible of Christendom, and the Constitution of the United States, are exceedingly defective, and every day losing power, as any fit rules for governing human conduct.

34. That the time comes when over-persistency and obstinacy, in the conservation of time-worn institutions, makes necessities, and therefore virtues, of apostacy and revolt.

35. That it is the part of wisdom to prevent these undesirable remedies, by adapting our appointments, conforming our conventionalities to the indications of developing intelligence.

36. That in these regards, in our own country, at the present time, while things appear to be getting better in the church, they are certainly getting worse in the state.

37. That it is already less injurious to reputation, and dangerous to life, to expose the abominations of the Bible, than of the United States Constitution.

38. That neither of these imperfect productions of past defective intelligence, is any longer safe for a true man to swear by.

39. That while the power of the church for despotic sway is waning, and the state is becoming more and more a formidable foe to freedom—freedom of speech as well as of action—freedom of thought as well as of expression—[for what is it worth to think, without the right to speak?—it is the value of the vilest vassalage]—we are bound as philosophers, as philanthropists, as men, to meet, rebuke and repel the aggression.

40. That any institution which shrinks from scrutiny and suppresses speech, is subversive of the best interests of all whose interests are involved with it, or affected by it.

41. That we owe it to ourselves and mankind, to absolve ourselves from all allegiance to any part of the Bible or Constitution thus involving or committing us.

42. That just as the helpers of murderers are themselves murderers, so the helpers of oppressors are themselves oppressors—the helpers of enslavers are themselves enslavers.

43. That to profess devotion to freedom, and practice enslaving our fellows, is to proclaim and make ourselves hypocrites and liars.

44. That for the producers to help on and strengthen the hands of the consumers, in the iniquitous work of making capital to own labor, is to forge chains for themselves and their children, and justify the attitude and treatment of those who contemptuously call them the “mud sills” of society.

45. That to curse and kill for political heresy—for exposure of error and wrong in the civil policy—in the Constitution and laws—is as dastardly and detrimental, as to curse and kill for religious heresy—for exposure of error and wrong in ecclesiastical policy—in Bibles and church codes.

46. That Charles Sumner was struck down in the Senate, and John Brown was strangled on the scaffold, in support of constitutional, legalized, Bible-sanctioned

wrong—the defenders of freedom sacrificed to slavery—good men immolated on the altar of a bad institution.

47. That the bloody, brutalizing system of slavery in the United States, has its vitality, power and perpetuity, in the *Union* of the States.

48. That in the constitutional provision, by which that sectional scheme of iniquity has had its own peculiar representation in the national legislature, amounting to a balance of power for its own purposes, providing itself army and navy for its own protection, and carrying on wars of conquest for the extension of its own dire domination—involving the renewal of the foreign slave trade—all supporters of the Union as it is, are fearfully responsible, and must be held to account in the convictions of all the just.

49. That to be faithful to rascality, is to be perfidious to honesty.

50. That allegiance to the wrong, is disloyalty to the right.

51. That the Union prevents the right and protracts the wrong; hinders freedom and helps slavery; makes peace impossible and war unavoidable.

52. That in “shrieking” for the preservation of the murderous compact, all professing friends of freedom are but “foaming out their own shame”—their contemptible clamor being possibly traceable to nothing but stupidity or venality, or both of these abominations.

53. That liberty and slavery are moral antagonisms, natural antipathies,—the rights of the one being the wrongs of the other—love of the one, hatred of the other—life to the one, death to the other.

[The following Resolution was also read on the same occasion—an odd link that did not get welded into the foregoing chain:]

Resolved, That it is in the nature of religion and politics to prostitute the press, the forum, and all other instrumentalities and appliances whose legitimate and proper uses are the promotion of the public virtue and the common welfare, to all illegitimacy and corruption of power—producing, among other monstrosities, such breeds of ranting hypocrites and brawling blackguards as the high places, the low places, and all places, in Christian community are cursed with.



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